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WELSH POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA.

J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

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WELSH POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA.

"It may be safely affirmed of these two metaphysical antagonists—Conservatism and Reform—that each is a good half, but an impossible whole. Each exposes the abuses of the other, but in a true Society both must combine."

—EMERSON.

"The merits of any book worthy of the name invariably loom larger before me than its faults. If it is animated by a noble and serious purpose, I read it with the sole desire to gain what I can from it; and I leave its errors and limitations to be pointed out by others, who will, perhaps, revel in the sense of their own superiority in the contemptuous condemnation of books of which they could not have written a single page. I for one will have as little as possible to do with praising books which are foredoomed as failures, or sneering at books which, whatever may be their imperfections, fulfil in any measure the aims which the authors have set before themselves, and may increase the knowledge or hallow the aspirations of those who read them."

—DEAN FARRAR.

THE EDITOR.

WELSH POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA.

EDITED BY THE

REV. J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

BIOGRAPHER OF KILSBY JONES AND EDWARD ROBERTS;
EDITOR OF "THE CAMBRO-AMERICAN PULPIT,"
"THEOLOGY AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY,"
AND "WELSH RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN THE VICTORIAN ERA."

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER,

JOHN MORGAN,

CWMAVON,

WHO DIED APRIL 12TH, 1907, AT THE AGE OF 77.

A MAN OF IRON WILL,

CONSUMMATE JUDGMENT,

AND DEEP RELIGIOUS FEELINGS.

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NOTE.

In presenting this work to the public, I only ask that it may be treated on its merits. It was taken in hand simply in order to make the incoming generation acquainted with the forces that have operated in raising the standard of education in the Principality, and broadening the basis of social life and civic liberty. The names dealt with represent every school of thought that has made its influence felt, and the writers have brought to their task the knowledge of experts. True, some of the leaders selected were not Welsh either in blood or in name, but their sympathies were national, and from a scholars view-point they mastered our language so that they were able to converse and preach in the vernacular. I am referring to Bishops Thirlwall and Ollivant. Of all our Welsh Bishops in the Victorian Era, Thirlwall was the *greatest*, but Ollivant was the most useful and acceptable to the nation. He endeavoured to understand the Welsh people—their racial characteristics and temperament; his heart was with the toilers, and he sought to provide for their spiritual and educational necessities; he recognised the importance of the bilingual movement, and was both just and generous in his appreciation of the great service rendered to Wales by Noncomformity in keeping alive the flame of spiritual life in those dark and cloudy days; though, as Chancellor Ollivant points out, and as a matter of historical fact, it deserves to be emphasised, the apathy of the previous century was felt not only in Wales, but everywhere, it had left its impress not only on the Mother Church in the Principality, but also on Art, Poetry and Architecture—even the sentiment of Welsh Nationality was in a comatose condition—and a supreme effort had to be made to revive the Eisteddfod which had slept for nearly a century and a half. Having regard to the present position of the Church of England in Wales, it would not be out of place to reproduce a significant passage from one of Bishop Ollivant's Charges. He was speaking of the insufficiency, irregularity and unsuitability of the services provided by the Church at that time to the genius and enthusiastic character of the Welsh, and its bearing upon the rise and progress of Calvinistic Methodism. It is with humility and respect do I commend this passage to the attention of our Welsh Bishops at this hour, for whose position, character, responsibility, attainments and patriotism I have the most profound regard. Likewise do I commend it to the earnest consideration of the Clergy in general, the *majority* of whom are men of vigour and intelligence, and many of whom are noted for their spirituality and constant solicitude for the welfare of the people.

"Well would it have been for *us* in the present day if, by the widening and deepening of the Church's channel, the torrent of their impetuous zeal had been restrained within, instead of overflowing her banks, and separating itself into a number of different and diverging streams. Is it too late for us to learn the lesson, that by a little more elasticity in our framework, a little more freedom of action, a little more allowance for private feeling and opinion upon such dogmatic questions as are non-essential for the vitality of the faith, we might make our Church still more comprehensive than she is, and possibly reclaim some who, although they dissent from us, feel, and avow that they feel, that dissent is a sad and painful necessity, and that the true ideal of the Church must be that all its members should be one in accordance with our Saviour's prayer, 'As thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us?'"

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in his address to the Church Convention recently held at Newport (Mon.), gave utterance to some truths of great importance, and which deserve the serious attention of the Clergy. "Was it not a fact," he said, "that Church people grew up taking it for granted that the Church, because it was the national Church, was bound to go on all right somehow. It was a mistaken idea although very widely held. We must not forget what Nonconformity had done. While they might criticise this or that feature in Nonconformist activity, yet they felt stimulated and encouraged and excited to wholesome rivalry by the achievements of their friends, in face of modern difficulties. If the Church looked into what Nonconformists had done, they might find that the Church was a little laggard in these matters. Never in English history was there a time more opportune, or one offering more responsibility than the present, and they were called upon as a duty to meet the needs of the day. The country to-day was vastly different from the country of past ages, in the early days of the Church. Two hundred years ago the population of England and Wales was only 5½ millions. At the beginning of 1800 the population of England and Wales had increased to 8½ millions; in 1841 to 16 millions: and in 1901, the last census taken, it was 32½ millions. It was essential that Churchmen should bear these facts in mind when considering their responsibility. To-day 77 per cent. of the population were living in towns and large villages, where the provision for their spiritual welfare was absolutely inadequate. As Churchmen, they were called upon to face this fact, the conditions being totally different from those when the endowments were first given. What were they in this generation doing to cope with this new condition of things? Those at the head of the Church were trying their best, but they had found no royal road. At the recent Church Congress at Yarmouth there were three maps presenting the South Wales coal fields at three periods within 60 years—1851, 1891, and to-day. In 1851 there were in the area 170,000 people and 62 churches; in 1891 950,000 people, and in 1906 1,105,000. With an increase in population from 170,000 to 1,105,000, they had increased their churches from 62 to 481, which he considered was most generous. But developments were still going on and they were called upon to find the means for still larger requirements." Whether the spirit of co-operation which is abroad, and the tendency to combination which seems to be growing among the various nations of the world, will ever come into the spiritual, it is impossible to predict. The spirit of association is gaining ground, but there are no signs of organic union. If unity comes, it will not come in its old form for people are being educated to think for themselves, and in Great Britain at this hour there is an immense constituency of educated, cultured, God-fearing men, of well-ordered lives, and clean habits for whom neither Nonconformity nor the national Church has any attraction whatever.

J. VYRNWY MORGAN.

March 11th, 1907.

INTRODUCTION.

By J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

THE gift of leadership is rare. A man may have knowledge, he may be intellectual, even brilliant, and yet devoid of the capacity to speak and to act for his race. He may be an orator, a passionate propagandist, swayed by strong and authoritative impulses, and still not a born ruler and leader of men. What, therefore, are the qualities that constitute leadership? First, to be a leader is to have popular sympathies. It was on this ground that Lowell called Christ "the first real Democrat the world ever saw." He had compassion—a compassion that has moved the hearts and moulded the thoughts of centuries. But to have sympathy does not necessarily involve acquiescence in all the people's emotional outbursts, for popular judgments on popular matters are not always correct. They may be, and sometimes are, subversive of all society. If we deny the divine right of the one, be he a king or a monarch, we cannot concede the divine right of the many. That a certain thing is desired by a great number is not in itself a guarantee of its justice or its utility. Such a view would make life a mere association of self-interests. Society has an objective end, namely, the realisation of the true and the just. Public feeling, if it be serious and well-matured, is always worthy of respect; but there are periods of crisis and enthusiasm when sympathy must take the form of reproof, when there cannot be any toning down of convictions in order that they may fit

more softly into popular passions and expectations. Communities are often more indebted to the men that have resisted them than to those that have encouraged them. Democracy carried to excess is both an injustice and a curse. Bureaucracy has its defects and limitations; but it has also one great redeeming feature—discipline. What do men mean by the Democratic ideal? Is it that we shall have nobody above us—no one to dictate to us? If it means that, it means despotism, and is devoid both of virtue and of moral inspiration; it will mean for Wales what it meant for Greece, the rule of the loud-mouthed demagogue. It is too soon yet to canonise or to condemn Democracy, for it is still on its trial. Whether it will be good or bad depends on the direction it takes—whether it goes in the direction of greed, or of craft, or of insubordination, or whether it carries with it the highest exercise of reason and the noblest exercise of the moral sentiment. The function of a leader is to gather up the tendencies of his age, to analyse and formulate the ideals of his people, to voice their rights, proclaim their duties, and awaken their enthusiasm.

The third quality essential in a leader is self-effacement. Someone asked Lincoln at the most critical hour in the history of the Civil War what he thought of himself. He replied that he had had no time to think of himself. There have been men that had the power of leadership, but what power they possessed was marred by a passion for adulation and precedence, by an all-absorbing thought of self. God said to Moses that he wanted to extinguish the entire Jewish nation, and create a new nation out of his own genus, a nation possessed of his own characteristics, with the impress of his own individuality upon their mind, spirit, and ideals, a nation having the same spiritual conceptions and the same

intellectual outlook. No man outside Christ was ever placed in a more fascinating position. Palestine itself faded into insignificance in the light of such a prospect; but Moses only thought of the people whom he had led, and for whom he had suffered, the people to whom he had given the passion for freedom, and freedom itself. He preferred that they, ignorant and ungrateful, should have their hopes realised than that he himself should be the head of a new and a superior race of men.

Fourth, a leader must have the two-fold vision—the onward and the backward. It was Gibbon that said that had Charles Martell failed to win his fight against the Arabs at Tours in the 8th century, we might now have had Mohammedan doctors teaching the faith of Islam at Oxford. We prosper in the prosperity of others. All peoples and nations are of necessity under the influence of a cosmic conservatism that moulds, checks and controls their career. No man, however great his gifts, can ever truly fill the functions of a leader if he disregards the past.

These were the guiding thoughts in the preparation of this list of Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era. The title of "leaders" is claimed for them in the sense above indicated; not that they were all equally able or equally eminent, but that they were leaders in the strict technical sense of the word. They succeeded in giving their contemporaries a consciousness of their own native instincts, identity and worth. By their work and teaching, and the inspiration of their personality, they caused the body of the nation to take an onward step. There were lesser men that did good and solid work for the people both in the field of politics and of education; but it is clear that all could not, and should not, be included. That interesting suggestion of

Dr. Horton's to re-name the days of the week after "some of the great and noble Englishmen whose lives constitute a perpetual inspiration to succeeding generations," is a charmingly simple plan; but there are only seven days in the week, and when the selection from the long roll of English worthies would be undertaken, we doubt whether any two persons would agree on the same seven. Factions proclaiming the virtues each of its own hero would spring up all over the country, and the man who succeeded in reconciling them would surely be worthy of being himself immortalised in one of the seven days. The names selected for treatment in this book are the men that in our judgment best understood, defined and expressed the dominant ideas and needs of their age. As to the relative degree of service rendered by them to Wales, our readers must judge for themselves. While the biographical aspect is kept well to the front, care has been taken not to overload the work with the unimportant details of biography. It is sought to show how leaders of different temperament, method, and school of thought laboured for the same end. The judgments recorded will go down into history as the final authoritative verdict upon both the men and the movements. The work throbs with the spirit of ardent patriotism: the national aroma is strong, wholesome, and well maintained throughout. "But," says the political opportunist, who lives under the tyranny of the present hour, "why canonise this pioneer stock of mind in the domain of Welsh civil life? The present is all-absorbing and is very exigent: fresh facts and new conditions have long superseded Victorian thoughts and methods." We answer, Is the beginning of no consequence? Is it not of interest and of service to the present generation to see how the scattered hopes of centuries took their first leap onward on a

new and organised scale? The Victorian Era is canonised because it is the era in which the glory of modern Welsh Nationality began to shine, in which politics came into education, and education into politics, for the first time, and ever since they have been inseparable. In ante-Victorian times all efforts at reform were individualistic, but in the era in question they came to a focus and assumed a collective form. Power which had been vested in the upper classes was transferred to the peasantry. By "the upper classes" is meant the squire, the parson, and the capitalist. By the peasantry is meant the artisan, the farmer, and the great middle class. To them power came, and none too soon, for they had been trained to co-ordinate their lives, and to know how to live with organisation. It is poor statesmanship to confer upon any class of people a system of civil policy, of legislation, and of self-government for which they are not fitted. What, then, constitutes this fitness? Discrimination, intelligence, loyalty and self-respect. There had been real growth in these qualities at the bottom of Welsh society. Consciously or unconsciously, there had been anticipatory adaptations to a new and a higher environment, so that when changes came, they came unaccompanied by any violence. The artisan and the labourer were enfranchised. Royal assent was given to a Bill having for its object a statutory recognition of the Welsh language in civil affairs; Welshmen were permitted for the first time to take their degrees at Oxford and Cambridge; two Welsh Acts were passed—the only two pure Welsh Acts—The Sunday Closing Act and the Intermediate Education Act; our Parliamentary representation was brought up to 34—its present proportion; there arose a spontaneous and a general desire for better educational advantages for the sons of the soil; the spread of

Nonconformity, which hitherto had simply been tolerated, led to the formation of schools and seminaries; the process of political and educational evolution continued until it culminated in the formation of a Welsh University with three constituent colleges. True, the University colleges were established before our secondary schools came into existence; it was irregular, but proved advantageous in that the University showed the necessity for a secondary system, and gave Wales the benefit of cultured and trained experts in developing and perfecting that system. It was generally thought, when Aberystwyth alone existed, that the demand for two additional colleges, one at Cardiff and one at Bangor, would cripple the resources and limit the opportunity of the first: for this reason strong efforts were made to secure the adoption of Aberystwyth as the College for North Wales; but the project was defeated, mainly through the instrumentality of the late Dean Edwards, of Bangor. He claimed, and rightly so, that the College for North Wales should be situated within one of the North Wales counties. To the Dean is also due the credit that the Bangor charter contained a non-residential and a non-sectarian clause. Such a clause commended the institution to both Churchmen and Nonconformists alike. Had it not been for the influence of Dean Edwards, coupled with the fact that the training at Aberystwyth College at that time was only secondary in quality and scope, there would have been no college at Bangor. In addition to the University with its three constituent colleges, Wales now has a Department of Education at Whitehall, the Chief-Inspectorship of which has been given to Mr. Owen M. Edwards, M.A., upon whom will devolve the responsibility of shaping the educational policy of the Principality. Thus Wales, once an object of indifference, and even of contempt in the

estimation of many Englishmen, weakened and disorganised in itself, at last recovered consciousness and received State recognition as a separate entity. No apology is necessary for the canonisation of the Victorian Era. It is always safe to distrust the ideals of a people, or a section of a people, that either ignore or under-value the memory of its ancestors; for their memory properly placed may prove more efficacious even than their life as a means of discipline and information. The days of our fathers were days of spadework; they had no political machinery for the execution of their ambitions, there were no emoluments and no party rewards as an incentive to work. Between the years 1852 and 1868 there was not for Wales a single Nonconformist representative in Parliament; but with the Reform Bill of 1868 there came a change: the constituencies were enlarged, and the Principality at once began to assert her national existence. Her voice was heard and her claim considered. Lord Aberdare said that "this was due to Henry Richard, who, by his earnestness, his knowledge, and his eloquence, raised the Welsh question into a higher plane and gave it a position of importance." Radicalism to-day in Wales is the pathway to public favour, to office, and to official recognition. Much of the martyrdom that we hear of is cheap martyrdom. Government grants for educational purposes were not so popular and not so accessible in former days as they are now. The Rev. William Roberts, LL.D. ("Nefydd"), of Blaenau, was selected, in the year 1843, by the British and Foreign School Society as their representative in South Wales, for the purpose of establishing British Schools, but his actual appointment was deferred for 10 years owing to the strong aversion among South Walians to the idea of accepting Government grants for educational purposes. But the value of Welsh Nationalism depends upon the course

which it takes: if it becomes arbitrary and unreasonable; if it sinks to that depth of cowardly meanness that would appoint a Welshman to a vacant post simply because he is a Welshman, notwithstanding the fact that his qualifications may be inferior to those of an English competitor, then Welsh Nationalism will prove a curse and not a blessing. But if, on the other hand, Welsh Nationalism rises to the manly height of recognising in a Welshman possessed of the same qualifications as his English competitor, that indispensable additional qualification of being bilingual, then it must of necessity be a blessing.

We have two classes of patriots in Wales: the one is the ultra-Radical, who is the modern counterpart of the old Tory. He has his set circle of ideas, and declines to read anything that is likely to enlighten him, and to broaden his views. He only knows the one side, and has no desire to know the other. He believes in Welshmen being given positions of influence in the Universities of Aberdeen, Oxford and Glasgow, but dislikes the idea of monoglot Englishmen occupying chairs in Welsh colleges. The second is a Welshman of superior mould, who analyses ideals other than his own, stands out against any narrow and exclusive interpretation of Welsh Nationalism; has more culture, and is better educated. He is the hope of the country. Great Welshmen like Sir John Rhys, of Oxford, and Professor Henry Jones, of Glasgow, have become great, not simply because they are Welshmen, but through association combined with native ability. There is an advantage in a residential training outside the Principality; a degree obtained at the Welsh University leaves the Welshman practically where he was, as exclusive and circumscribed as ever. What the Welsh student like the English student needs is a new and a broader atmosphere for his intellect and his spirit: this alone can

give him breadth of culture and sanity of judgment. The Welsh nation is essentially insular. It is non-scientific, non-historic, and non-imperialistic. It has a fine grasp of domestic politics, but no care for foreign politics. The American flag flies over every public school on the entire continent: the children are taught not only to know but to value their country above any other. The patriotic spirit is instilled into them from their very youth, and this spirit they carry with them into their manhood and womanhood. Every citizen is a soldier unarmed. Such speeches as were delivered in Wales by the pro-Boer party during the South African War would be impossible in America. The orator would not live long enough to deliver them. Talk to the exclusive Welsh Nationalist of an "Empire Day," and he calls it "Jingo Day." He believes in "St. David's Day." His patriotism is local and moral. The best illustration of this insularity is to be found in Welsh literature. By literature is meant the aggregate of productions which form the uppermost stratum of Welsh thought and knowledge, as expressed in Welsh prose, poetry, fiction, and biography. Science among the Welsh is not widely known, and their strong philosophical bent is not yet systematised. Welsh literature to-day lacks the manifest imprint of our national characteristics as found in the classics of the Wales of the past—a literature in which a peculiar genius is visible. In submitting much of what there is to-day to the test of pure criticism, it melts away in our hands; it is not sufficiently luminous and instructive and fertile; it reflects but little of the trend of European thought, nor the emotions of the general heart; and is at variance with international spirit; it sadly lacks the critical instinct; there is but little classicism and intellectual breadth; hence plenty of what may be called literary

dandyism, often discourteous, narrow, and bigoted, arguing for some immeasurable, insignificant detail of dogma. Welsh journalism has hardly any style, and by style I mean compactness, method, melody, charm, simplicity of words and felicity of epithet. There is in Welsh literature to-day no lack of body of thought, or of emotion; no lack of attention to the moral and human aspects of life; but it is more or less of a local character. There is enough and to spare of theology and of religion, but, with the exception of our poetry and the prose of our best books, there is no artistic quality. The Welshman cares but little for the æsthetic side of life. The explanation is twofold. First, it is a question of character. Second, it is a question of vision, or rather want of vision, due to imperfect acquaintance with English and Continental thought, and a lack of a more generous commerce with the world.

It is too soon yet to gauge the full effects of Welsh sub-nationality upon this phase of Welsh life and thought. Whether it is likely to increase the tendency to isolation, to encourage a policy of intellectual detachment, to convert Welsh nationality into an end, instead of a means, none can tell. But we may have some faint idea of the trend of things by analysing the concomitant movements of Welsh sub-nationality.

First, there is the revival of the Welsh language. Respect for one's language is a virtue: it is respect for one's morals; to guard our language is to guard our society: a society that does not know and revere its language puts itself outside the pale of true civilisation. Welsh among Welshmen generally is only known wholesale: the sentiment of language is strong enough and its sincerity is unmistakable; but the groundwork of the language—its idiom, psychology, history, facts, reasons, and its relation to our religion—are not fathomed; it is

not made to yield all that it has to yield by way of information and true culture. Our language has a right to be heard, and a good right. We talk about the vested rights of property: has not our language its vested right? It is purer, more original, philosophical and logical than the English. To study it is to study ourselves, for it is the result of our social life; it is intimately connected with our history as a people. As the esteemed Vicar of Porth, the Rev. W. Thomas, observed in his evidence before the Church Commission, much of the Welsh now spoken in industrial centres is a mere *patois*, a kind of a homely peculiarity in expression. It is sheer vanity to deny it, and the matter is worthy of attention and examination, for the civilisation of any people is largely determined by the nature and form of its speech. However, the average Welshman compares favourably with the average Englishman in this matter. He speaks more idiomatic Welsh than does the Englishman idiomatic English.

It is a remarkable thing that the recent outcry for compulsory Welsh emanated chiefly from the middle-class Welsh that so sadly neglect it themselves. English is the language of their home and offspring, and all their social functions are carried on in English; only in cases of absolute necessity do they speak Welsh in ordinary conversation, and even then it is neither elegant nor intelligible. Yet, they cry for compulsory Welsh—of course, compulsory for others. Is it reasonable to expect headmasters to teach Welsh to children of Welsh parents that constantly speak English at home? There are reasons for the teaching of Welsh in Elementary schools and, under certain conditions, in our Intermediate schools and University colleges, Welsh does to some extent form a vehicle of instruction in the teaching of other subjects, and especially

as a medium of instruction in Scripture; but there is no solid reason, except the sentimental one, in favour of the compulsory teaching of Welsh. The agitation, or rather its method, has converted many a friendly neutral into an antagonist. To force Welsh is to kill it. The language has survived throughout the generations by the exercise of the people's free will. There is no fascination in compulsory subjects—at any rate, not so much as when the will is free to choose. The people that have kept the Welsh language alive are the old Welsh preachers, the parents, and Sunday-school teachers. The storm-centre of the agitation is Cardiff, and herein lies the irony of the situation, for all the responsible positions in the city are held by monoglot Englishmen, and there is no suggestion of inefficiency. The town clerk is a monoglot Englishman, so is the curator of the museum, and the director of public education. Mr. Ivor Guest, the Parliamentary representative for Cardiff, does not know Welsh, and but little of the history of Welsh life and thought. The chief librarian is a monoglot Englishman. (True, Mr. Ifano Jones, the Welsh librarian, is a Welshman thoroughly conversant with our language, our literature, and the needs of the Welsh public; but this does not alter the fact.) The principal of the University College at Cardiff is Welsh by birth and race, but he does not know Welsh, and his sympathies are not Welsh. To the Cardiff Council it is not a question of nationality, but of fitness. The commercial prosperity of Cardiff is due not only to its natural position, but to the fact that so many Englishmen of business have settled there, and it would be an injustice to force Welsh upon their children when they have no wish for it. Lord Aberdare, in the address he delivered at the National Eisteddfod at Aberdare, in 1885, declared that, after a very careful study of the question, he had come to the

conclusion that the teaching of Welsh should not be made compulsory. He said there was nothing to prevent the trial of the experiment subject to two conditions, one being that the large majority of the children at those schools should be Welsh-speaking children, and the other that the masters and mistresses should not only be Welsh-speaking but should be capable of teaching Welsh grammatically. Lord Aberdare had no doubt that in many parts of Wales the first of these conditions could be fulfilled. But the difficulty of getting masters and mistresses to teach the Welsh language grammatically, though not insurmountable, was a grave one. Lord Aberdare further impressed upon his auditors the important fact so often overlooked by the extremists that Wales was very largely compounded of a population speaking English, and speaking English exclusively. At our schools we have children of both descriptions, and it would be simply tyrannical, as it would be absurd, to insist on English children learning Welsh in order that they might learn English through Welsh. This is exactly the position as applied to Cardiff, and it is gratifying to find that the views expressed by Lord Aberdare prevail. Cardiff is an English city. We commend here Mr. Ifano Jones's article on Dan Isaac Davies. It has historical value. Present and future readers will find it a treasure-house of facts as to the bilingual movement and the latest revival of Welsh Nationalism.

Another concomitant of Welsh sub-nationality is the spread of education. I regard no feature in our history as a people so striking as this. Whether viewed from its material, intellectual, or moral side, it is one of the most important studies for the philosopher and the historian. The movement is all the more remarkable in that it originated with the people themselves. Theorists had no

hand or part in the matter. There is something very pathetic in the thought of the whole nation feeling and confessing its ignorance, asking for schools for its children, and the best obtainable schools, that they may have some share in the intellectual inheritance of the more fortunate. Critics allege that the Welsh policy aimed at supplanting Oxford and Cambridge by inducing Welshmen not to go to these universities, but, as Lord Aberdare said at the National Eisteddfod at Birkenhead, in 1878, "What we are doing is to bring to the hearts and homes of our people the means of possessing an education equal to that which is given to the people of Scotland and Ireland." So rapid were the results following the Report of the Departmental Committee, that even such an enthusiast as Lord Aberdare was fairly startled. Professor Tyssil Evans remarks: "We were like unto them that dream."

In reviewing, however briefly, the history and development of the educational movement in Wales, we cannot overlook the part played by Sir Hugh Owen. For the sake of Welsh education he gave up his position in the Civil Service and saved Aberystwyth from extinction. Among the pioneers were Dr. Lewis Edwards, of Bala; his distinguished son, Dr. Thomas Charles Edwards, the first Principal of Aberystwyth; the late Mr. David Davies, M.P., of Llandinam; Mr. William Williams, M.P. for Coventry; Lord Aberdare; Dean Vaughan, and Principal Viriamu Jones. The latter appeared on the scene full of honours and of promise, at the age of twenty-seven, at the time when higher education in Wales was entering upon a new era. His appointment was unanimous, and he proved himself an educational statesman of the first order. Professor Tyssil Evans, who knew him so well, says, in his valuable contribution, that Principal Viriamu Jones had

"a unique opportunity and used it nobly. His boldness bordered at times on recklessness; but without it the sphere of the college at Cardiff would have remained small, and its services to the country limited in kind and degree." Dean Vaughan, whose pre-eminent quality was modesty, deserves grateful recognition for his unselfish devotion to the cause of higher education in general, and the welfare of the college at Cardiff in particular. Though a staunch Churchman, he heartily co-operated in the endeavour to keep the college free from ecclesiastical and denominational peculiarities. Nothing could be more appropriate than the tribute paid to his memory and work by his distinguished nephew, Professor Vaughan. The inclusion of Lord Aberdare in the list of leaders is not likely to be questioned, for though he had no special sympathy with the Celtic Revival and the movement for Welsh Nationalism, yet Wales was his home, and he was always at the service of the people, and took great interest in the movement for extending education among the working classes. He believed in education as the only remedy that would be permanent in its effects. Wales owes quite as much to Lord Aberdare as to Sir Hugh Owen. He was the first president to the Cardiff College, and Principal Viriamu Jones spoke of him as "Commander-in-chief of the Welsh Educational Army. We marched under his guidance, confident in his wisdom, and helped at all times by the influence he so rightly possessed." The part he played as Chairman of the Departmental Committee, and the aid he gave in carrying into effect its recommendations, give him a solid title to the loving remembrance of the Welsh people. It was in Lord Aberdare's house that Sir Hugh Owen drafted the letter to Mr. Gladstone, calling for the enquiry. We commend the article on Lord Aberdare by the Hon. W. N. Bruce. It is sane, and gives the facts.

No one could deal more efficiently with the matter, for he is so thoroughly conversant with all the facts, and has been so completely bound up with the various stages and developments of Welsh education.

What has this movement accomplished? Undoubtedly there are exaggerated expectations and mistaken ideals, but, on the whole, it has proved one of the greatest blessings to Wales, standing second only to the blessing of religion. It has opened up a larger intellectual life for the people; it has augmented their power, and there are signs that it will give to the Welsh pulpit what it lacks—fineness of thought, intellectual elegance, and comprehensiveness of vision. Some nations can do better work with poor tools than others can do with good ones; it is pre-eminently so in the case of Wales, for the instruments of education within the reach of the common people were exceedingly poor; there were no colleges for the training of masters, no technical schools, no laboratories; but the Welsh are naturally gifted in the art and science of education; and they have made greater sacrifices than any other section of the United Kingdom.

England spends only sevenpence in the pound on its rates for education.
Scotland ninepence halfpenny in the pound.
Wales spends one shilling.

While per head of the population England spends three shillings on education, and Scotland four shillings and tenpence halfpenny, Wales spends five shillings and ninepence. In seventeen years Wales has built up a system of education second to none in the United Kingdom, and not the least significant feature about it is the large number of pupils that come direct to the Welsh Secondary schools from the Elementary schools; it is a system

you at once interest him; but talk of Faraday, Pasteur, Lister and Kelvin, and he makes little response. This is, in the great majority of cases, the result of his indifference to the minutiæ of physical facts and his natural inclination towards the greater and graver things of imagination and soul-development.

Some means should be devised to create among the Welsh greater interest in this branch of intellectual effort, for it is the function of a university not only to educate in the technical sense of the word, but also to render practical service to the life of the community. In the southern parts of Wales the majority of the people are dependent on occupations directly related to the scientific advances made during the last thirty years. During the last two decades numerous mining, geological, surveying and engineering schools have been most generously patronised in the colliery districts of Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and Carmarthenshire, with splendid results. Hundreds of hard-working colliers and artisans have passed difficult examinations in these and their allied subjects. For this, and other reasons, we make mention of the initial step taken by Sir William Thomas Lewis and Principal Griffiths in seeking to establish a school of mining in the University College of South Wales; it is to be hoped that our industrial leaders will be stimulated by Sir William's example to give a more practical demonstration of their interest in scientific research. Churches have always regarded the teachings of science with suspicion and even aversion. But there is truth in both, and science will yet furnish the data for the inductive study of religion; when that day comes, the reconciliation already inaugurated among the best informed will be completed, and the scientific man and the religious man will read the same Bible and study the same text-books of science.

any institution of learning anywhere that has completely fulfilled the ideal of its founders? Has any single principle of Christianity developed all its consequences? It is not an easy matter to put ideals into practice; lack of preliminary training has to be taken into consideration, lack of funds, and various other difficulties. Welsh University life is only thirty-five years old, and it may be assumed that it has not yet spoken its last word nor uttered its last thought. The ability of a people in any given direction is not necessarily proportioned to their instruction; even their morality is not commensurate with their means of intellectual culture; the converse is often the case. Not that I believe the demands of the general intellect, or the claims made by the spirit of any given age, should be permitted to completely overshadow the sacred traditions of a people, or to rob the individual of his peculiar characteristics: education consists in a combination of both. But it is not the function of a University to produce geniuses: they are born, not made; and when born, they manifest themselves, University or no University. It is not a question of system, but of material. It is one of the mysteries of nature that there is no apparent connection between the demand for genius and its appearance. Genius is spasmodic, provocative, ungovernable. The needs of an age do not always meet with a response on the part of genius. You cannot command genius, and you cannot negotiate it. Genius comes, goes and demeans itself in defiance of all rules and regulations. Education restricts genius; so does Christianity—at any rate, in certain directions. But there is something even genius cannot do: it cannot supply the place of observation and experience. Give me a second-rate talent, combined with will, and the advantage is mine against the man of genius, for genius has a habit

and strongly urging the people to keep aloof from it, on the ground that it was a question that did not come within their province as a religious body. But the effect of such a resolution was partial and temporary, for the movement had come to stay. The Rev. Samuel Roberts ("S. R.") proved a source of great strength to the movement, his articles in "Y Cronicl" possessing great merit and power. There were several causes that gave impetus to the agitation: one was the Church rate. Between 1846 and 1850 not less than 1,734 persons were brought before the magistrates for non-payment of rates. Another was the tithe question in 1830 and 1888. Then the Liberation Society in England was founded in 1857, which proved a source of great inspiration. In 1862 a public meeting was held at Swansea to commemorate the expulsion of the 2,000 from the Mother-church in 1662. The chief speakers were Henry Richard, Edward Miall and J. Carvell-Williams. It was at this gathering that the Calvinistic Methodists fell into line, their chief spokesman being the Rev. Thomas Levi, D.D. The movement had now assumed a political form. At the election of 1868 not less than twenty-two members were returned to Parliament from Wales pledged to support Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment, and ever since it has been the one great vital, permanent question. That election signalised the rise of new political forces, which, unfortunately for the Mother-church, its leaders did not appreciate or understand. In 1870 Mr. Watkyn Williams introduced into the House of Commons a measure for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, forty-five voting for the motion and 209 against. Another Bill was introduced in 1886, when 229 voted for, and 241 against. In 1894 Welsh Disestablishment was officially taken up by the Liberal Government, and Mr. Asquith

was deputed to bring in a Bill that passed through the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords. This Bill provided that the County Councils should have a great amount of tithe rent-charges to administer for the purpose of dealing with property attached to parochial benefices; it also provided for the erection and support of cottage hospitals and homes, the maintenance of trained nurses for the sick poor, the erection of parish and district halls, the provision of labourers' dwellings and allotments, and technical and higher education. Mr. Gladstone, who was never really at heart in favour of Disestablishment either for Wales or England, went abroad, having paired in favour of the bill, but when he found that Mr. Asquith had included a provision for confiscating the cathedrals, he telegraphed from the Continent cancelling his pair.

What is the issue? First, there is the philosophic and religious ground for Disestablishment. State churches, it is contended, only date from the sixteenth century, and are simply abortions of Protestantism. When they allied themselves with the State they repudiated the twin-principle of conscience and individuality that formed the groundwork of the Reformation. The alliance was a mercenary and a morganatic one, the State being the inferior of the Church, and the parties having no common interests; the State being founded upon civil law, the Church upon spiritual law. The union involved not only the acceptance of civil protection, but a legal recognition of the right of the Church to persecute. It is not the function of the State to patronise religion, for such patronage disregards the distinction between the two spheres—the political and the religious. When the Church allowed the State to place the ring of Empire on her finger, she abdicated her most precious inheritance, the right of individual opinion.

The verdict of history is that the State paralyses and contaminates whatever it touches in the spiritual realm. The most useful as well as the most brilliant periods in the history of the Church are the periods when she relied, not upon the arm of the State, but upon the arm of the Lord and her own inherent attraction and power. Her marriage, instead of adding to her strength, weakens it, and the union continues to rob her service of the precious and comforting element of spontaneity.

Moreover, it is argued that there is a special case against the continuance of the Church in Wales. Her record in the Principality, it is alleged, has been one of neglect, apathy and maladministration. The clergy did not realise what was expected of them, either in activity or in example. Important livings were given to men of English birth, who could not speak the native tongue, who had no knowledge of the peculiar history of the people, and who had no sympathy with their necessities. The Church, as a body, made no effort to supply neglected districts with religious or semi-religious literature; the few clergymen who did were silenced and condemned by the bishops. When the great religious awakening came through the Calvinistic Methodist Revival, the Church stood aloof, and continued to stand aloof from all national movements. The clergy made no serious effort, either by way of accommodation, or by evangelistic work, to cope with the spiritual needs of the rapidly increasing population, catering simply for the capitalists, the landed gentry, and the people of English birth and tongue who settled in the Principality. They have always ignored the Welsh language, treated with indifference the productions of Nonconformist ministers, and declined to buy or to read their books and to co-operate with them in social and religious matters. Their

attitude towards Nonconformity has been an attitude of unfriendliness, and their bearing autocratic. Hence, the masses of the people have left the Church to its own fate, and at the present time seven out of every ten are Nonconformists. To call it "The National Church," we are told, is wrong, for it is the Church of the minority, and is anti-national in spirit. Tory landlords, acting under the influence of the clergy, have made it always difficult, and in many instances impossible, to obtain sites for Nonconformist chapels, and the clergy have made it their chief business to utilise for their special purpose the day-school in which their influence was supreme. The children of Dissenters were taught that the Church of their parents was a schism. In some parishes they were compelled to attend divine service at the parish church once a Sunday: neglect or refusal meant actual physical punishment at the hands of schoolmasters. Thus, by atmosphere, by direct teaching, by intimidation, and corporal punishment, proselytism was placed first and education second. Thus the conviction was forced upon the people that the Church was more interested in the promulgation of its own faith than in the general education of the children. These are the arguments of the Liberationists. They allege that the establishment or endowment of the Church is in no way essential to its life or to its spiritual influence. It is simply a matter of Christian expediency, so that it might have been desirable and even beneficial in any set of circumstances, or in any state of national sentiment, and undesirable in another.

A review of the present position of the Church of England as regards Disestablishment and Disendowment must include the peculiar attitude of certain of its clergy. The number of those of them who, for

reasons of expediency, advocate with Nonconformists the separation of the Church in Wales from State control and pay, is increasing; but their attitude is inconsistent, and is also disloyal to their ordination vows. To be conscientious, they should first separate themselves from an organisation believed by them to be based on injustice and carried on by unfair means. Still, these clergy are not to be blamed more than those who in belief and utterance are almost diametrically opposed to the creed accepted by them in their ordination vows. These clergy are agnostics, materialists, hypercritics, and Unitarians; yet, they live on stipends paid them by a Church whose creed is now, as in the sixteenth century, more or less Calvinistic. There is, however, breadth and depth in the Church of England: in it are found working in tolerable comfort for the common good, the Ritualistic and the Evangelical as represented by the High Church and Low Church Parties, as well as the theologically liberal-minded as represented by the Broad Church Party; and if these are tolerated, then the Disestablishing clergy must be tolerated. But while a few prevaricate and temporise, the Church as a body is armed for the combat. The signal for concerted action has been given. Churchmen are attached to their Church as a hierarchy, distinct from the State; they assert the reality of the Church as a spiritual body perpetuated by the apostolic succession, and conveying life through its sacraments; they assert it as against the individualism of the Evangelicals, and the Erastianism of politicians. It is the Catholic Church in Wales. In virtue of its relation to the State, the Church has increased the reverence and the love of the people for religion. She is older than the 16th century,—older than Parliament; she is the Church

that represents apostolic Christianity. Without her connection with the State, it is possible that, through the decay of faith and the oscillation of popular beliefs, the State might have repudiated its duty to God and become as the heathen. Notwithstanding her relation to the State, the Church retains her free exercise and moral discipline over her members; she consecrates her bishops: without such consecration there would not, and could not, be any bishops; she has a legislative power in her own internal concerns. The Church has, up to a certain point in all Christian countries, developed the State, and proved a formidable factor in the formation of national convictions. To disestablish and disendow the Church on the ground that Nonconformity has flourished, and because she has not always done her duty, would be an act of ingratitude and of injustice. So Churchmen are resolved to defend her and to preserve her heritage against

> "The ruffian hands
> Come to reform
> When ne'er they come to pray."

As to the claim of the Principality to special legislative treatment, Churchmen answer that the Church in Wales is part of the province of Canterbury. The history of the four dioceses in Wales is practically inseparable from that of their English sisters; two hundred and fifty years ago Wales was conspicuous among other parts of the kingdom for her devotion to the Church of England and the House of Stuart. Churchmen maintain that it would be unfair and unjust to try the experiment of Disestablishment and Disendowment upon the Church in Wales, for it is the part that will be least able to bear the shock, and it would throw back the work of the Church in Wales a hundred years. As to the contention that the Anglican Church in Wales is an alien Church, the

reply is, that whatever alienation of the Welsh people from the Church there is, or may have been, it is of recent origin, and is rapidly passing away; it is not due to the Church as a spiritual body, but to maladministration at certain periods, and to various social and political causes. As to the precedent set by the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, there is in reality no parallel between the two cases: the Irish Church was not an integral part of the Church of England; its bishops were not suffragans of Canterbury or York; its clergy were not represented in either of the English Convocations. Moreover, the large majority of the people of Ireland had always been hostile to the Anglican Church. But this cannot be said of Nonconformity, for Nonconformity in Wales is not much more than 250 years old, and its period of greatness is coincident, and coincident only, with the period of the Church's weakness. On the other hand, for a thousand years the Church in Wales has been part of the province of Canterbury, and for a longer period than that she has held the bulk of her present endowments. Churchmen ask us to consider the great progress that has taken place in the life and work of the Church during the last sixty years; during that period she has proved herself an active and advancing Church. Whereas, sixty years ago, the Anglican clergy in Wales numbered about 700, they now number 1,450, serving 1,011 benefices and ministering to a population throughout Wales of 1,580,206. The total sum expended upon church building and restoration between the years 1840 and 1891 by the four Welsh dioceses was £2,216,723. The total number of persons confirmed throughout the four dioceses during the ten years ending 1889 was 77,897, giving an average of 7,789 per year. The total

number confirmed throughout the four dioceses in the year 1889 was 12,308, or an increase of 59 per cent. upon the average of the last ten years. The number of communicants in Wales to-day is 111,000. When these figures are compared proportionately with the corresponding figures for the English dioceses, it will be found that there are four communicants in Wales for every three in England, and that the rate of increase for confirmation candidates in England is considerably less than it is in Wales. These statistics demonstrate the energy and work of the Church in Wales during the sixty years, and constitute a valid reason why the Church in Wales should not be disestablished,—at any rate, until the question has been referred to the electorate in such a manner as to constitute the sole and clear issue of that particular election.

That such an issue should produce agitation, conflict, and misunderstanding, is inevitable. All intellectual and moral movements have been more or less stormy, and the more moral the issue, the more bitter the conflict. While the agitation has consolidated Nonconformity, it has given it a more unspiritual character. Disestablishment and disendowment has become the one great central idea of the sects, and it has become a purely political aspiration, prosecuted on political lines and by political methods for a political end. If some Nonconformist ministers had devoted the same energy to reclaim men that have wandered outside the fold of the churches as they do in collecting evidence for the Disestablishment and the Disendowment of the Church, it would be more creditable to them as ministers of the Gospel. Passion and reason seldom go together. But these men think that Nonconformity must rule because it is its turn to do so; hence Disestablishment is their

first and only necessity. Whether Nonconformity advances on the good or on the bad side does not trouble them. Some of them—the more militant factors—are Nonconformists first and Christians second. It is a sad spectacle, but a true one.

What Churchmen will not tolerate is the Erastianism of politicians, the intrusion of the State in matters of doctrine and ritual: the question is outside the province of the State entirely. Erastianism means putting Church laws and constitution at the mercy of civil government, giving the State power over the bishops with a right to over-rule in matters of legislation and jurisdiction as well as in the nomination to offices. Erastianism makes the Church both subordinate and subservient to the civil power. But Churchmen claim that the authority centres in the Church, and that the Church has for practical purposes vested it in the bishops. Ecclesiastical government is a matter for the Church and not for the State, and the attitude of the clergy towards Erastianism is one of uncompromising hostility. As to the Church of England in Wales, it is to her credit that in most parishes she has planted National Schools where children could be educated for their life-work, whereas it is only in 1870 that the State began to really interest itself in the matter of Welsh education. She gave Wales one of the most masculine, powerful and luminous intellects that had for generations been known among the bishops of England, that is Bishop Thirlwall. Lampeter was established by and during the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas Burgess. No Welshman can think of such men as Dean Howell, Dean Vaughan, Dean Edwards, of Bangor, and Archdeacon Griffiths, without deep and sacred emotion. Chancellor Silvan Evans was the greatest lexicographer Wales ever produced.

Bishop Morgan gave Wales her Bible. Archdeacon Prys, of Merioneth, gave the Church her rhymed version of the Psalms. The renowned Vicar Prichard, of Llandovery, gave her his moral aphorisms and sermons in verse. The Church of England in Wales to-day can claim a body of cultured and educated men that are a credit to the nation. The bishops are men of intellectual vigour, with keen human sympathies and deep spiritual instincts. It is essential, however, that the younger clergy should devote greater attention to the art of reading and of sermon-making. Many of them are extremely inefficient: they cannot control men, they have no influence and no readiness of speech, and have but little knowledge of the trend of Welsh life and thought. Lay-readers vastly their superior in almost every requisite are kept down and out, and treated with indifference, because they lack technical knowledge to enable them to pass the Bishop's examination at one sitting; and through it the Church suffers. What the Church of England sadly lacks is elasticity and the power of adaptation. It is a matter worthy of serious consideration.

Strange to say that coincident with this remarkable awakening of the spirit of Churchmanship there is an unusual dearth of curates in Wales, especially in the Diocese of Llandaff, though it is contended that it is not more in Llandaff than in other parts. Church authorities affect the belief that the cause of this is due to the greater choice of professions that young men now have at the universities; the unsettlement of Christian belief; the difficulty many suitable men find in obtaining money for a college course: and the rapid growth of the population in the colliery districts. But such conditions prevail among the sects; yet, there is no dearth of candidates for the Nonconformist ministry. One of

the causes is due to the fact that so many of our young Welsh curates go to England, and they go because the conditions are more favourable; there is greater sympathy, more assistance from the laity, pleasanter surroundings, and higher remuneration. Then there are social and political considerations that make the lot of a curate in Wales extremely uncomfortable. Moreover, there is the length of time curates have to wait for preferment, and the knowledge that preferment so often comes not through merit, but through influence. What encouragement has the Church given to talented young Welshmen? She has treated them with indifference and even contempt by relegating them to obscure county benefices. Dean Howell owed his deanery to the accident of the appointment lying with the Sovereign. Archdeacon Griffiths was banned by his Anglicised ecclesiastical superiors. Chancellor Silvan Evans, the Webster of Wales, was throughout his long life never thought of as eligible for even an archdeaconry or a deanery. He died rector of Llanwrin and Chancellor of Bangor Cathedral. What is true of the past is true of the present. A Church pursuing such a policy is bound to suffer: loss of leadership is inevitable. There is also a growing feeling, amounting almost to conviction, that the Church as it is now governed is out of touch with the spirit of the nation, and that some change must take place in the conditions of entrance, if young men of intellect, of experience, and breadth of view, are to be impressed and encouraged to take Holy Orders. A generation that has imbibed the idea of evolution and some conception of the faithful investigation of truth, will not, we are told, endure the fixed system printed in the Prayer Book, and indicated by a sentence such as the following: "The settled

continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree. We will that all further curious search be laid aside." It is maintained that some of the forces of disruption are within the Church itself. It is felt that the Church must widen its entire conception of its mission, and that the bishops must have greater regard for the class of men the Church needs, especially at the present time. They should look for the services of men who can appeal to the moral imagination of the people. Technical knowledge of certain classical subjects should not be the chief condition. The necessity of the Church in this hour of crisis lies in another and different direction. In analysing the causes of the decline of the Church of England in Wales, this is what Lord Aberdare said in his letter to the press in 1848: "The present lamentable state of the Church in Wales is attributable to various circumstances—the expulsion of the clergy during the time of the Commonwealth; the spiritual neglect of Wales after the Restoration; the appointment of illiterate and improper ministers during the century that followed; the non-residence and inattention of the bishops until very late times; the enormous abuse of pluralities; the miserable defective state of clerical education up to the present day; and the insulting indifference to the spiritual welfare of the majority evinced by the appointment of pastors ignorant of the language and habits of the people."

Churchmen complain that Nonconformists go so far back in history for the basis of their demand for Disestablishment, and some of our Anglo-Catholic dignitaries —many of them excellent men—that have settled in Wales, are at a loss to understand the source and strength

of the movement. The following correspondence, which is highly interesting and somewhat sensational, goes to the root of the matter. It affords a striking example of some of the contributory causes. The editor's own family, and the minister under whose pastorate he was brought up, were the chief actors in this tragic affair.

To the Editor of "The Morning Advertiser."

SIR,—The valuable services which have been rendered by your journal to the cause of political and religious freedom in general deserve to be acknowledged by the public, not in words only, but also in deeds; and the notice that has been taken of Wales particularly, on various occasions, claims the support of the Liberal Party connected with the Principality.

I trust you will once more grant space to expose deeds of scandal which, on account of the privacy of the locality in which they have been perpetrated, were intended by the parties concerned to remain for ever concealed from the eyes of the English public. But in these days, when the evil deeds of mighty despots abroad are held up to opprobrium in the Press of this country till they are put to shame, the baseness of petty tyrants in nooks and corners of our land should not be overlooked.

When the liberal gentleman, the governor of the Bank of England, attended brilliant banquets to welcome and honour Louis Kossuth for his patriotic zeal and Christian valour in shattering the unjust fetters which held four millions of Hungarians in political and religious bondage, little did he and the gay company around him know, or little did they care, that many thousands of free-born Britons were bleeding under the stripes of his own agent, and deprived of their rights to worship the God of their fathers according to the dictates of their own consciences, and bring up their children in those religious views which they themselves had received and professed.

And our senators, while they pull down with one hand the strongholds of religious persecution, dream not that they are with the other erecting even worse when they create "*imperium in imperio*" by constituting strong chartered companies, and permit them to use the immense powers granted to them to oppress whole neighbourhoods. But so it was, and so it is, as the following statements will show:

In the County of Glamorgan, between Swansea and Cardiff, is situated the place called Cwmavon. It is a small valley hemmed in on all sides by high hills. The entrance to it is from Port Talbot, which is a station on the South Wales Railway, by a deep and narrow passage. The valley itself is about three miles in length, and one and a half wide. In the valley are extensive coal and iron works, seven blast furnaces, rolling mills, copper-smelting works, tin works, and chemical works. The land on one side of the river Avan, which runs through the valley, is the property of the Earl of Jersey; and on the other side it is the property of C. R. M. Talbot, Esq. The works have been for years, and are now, the property of the English Copper Company. All the lands that the eye can see from the middle of the vale, with little exception, have been leased to the company for a term of years. The houses also, nearly all, are the property of the company, and the inhabitants are dependent upon the works. There is no thoroughfare through it except by a parish road leading to the hilly districts; and not being a borough, there are no municipal authorities to govern it. So the manager of the works has an absolute control over everything in the valley. Over the destinies of 7,000 people he is a despot, enthroned between the hills. Their livelihood, their health, their character, their education, and their religion are in his hands; the inhabitants have no way to escape the powers of one man but by taking their goods and leaving the neighbourhood, which they may do only under certain restrictions.

When the works were carried on by the English Copper Company, the said power, which would be dangerous in the hands of any irresponsible person, through the vigilance of the directors, and the good sense and kind feelings of the managers, was harmless, and often wielded for much benefit to the people. Though at some periods they interfered with religious matters to a greater extent than was compatible with perfect religious freedom, they were, on the whole, tolerant, kind, and charitable. They not only gave land for building chapels to the various denominations, but assisted them very generously. A certain sum was kept monthly from the wages of each workman for the support of day-schools, but such schools were not connected with any denomination. They were reported by the Government Commissioners "unsectarian." Young and old were in the enjoyment, at least, of a comparative liberty on Sundays to worship God according to their own views, without fear of molestation.

Now, for many years, the works are carried on by the Bank of England, and managed by John Biddulph, Esq., and his lady. During the first years of their management they, to some extent, continued the kindness granted by the previous managers to Dissenters; but they never did it with grace. But since a powerful revival attracted the people more than usual to the chapels, and since Sir Benjamin Hall called the attention of the public to the low state of the Church of England, and the increase of Dissent in South Wales, the manager and his lady seem to have determined to crush Dissent in the place, and take the people over to the Church by any means, whether fair or foul. Since that time, the way to promotion in the works has been through the Church; and Dissenters were marked to be objects of insult and revenge, to be branded as evil-doers, and "damned to hell." But the attack was made principally upon the young. The

schools, which were entirely under the control of the manager's lady, became ready and efficient means to accomplish their object. The children were strictly required to attend Sunday Schools, morning and evening. Then they were marched together, two abreast, to the Established Church services from the schoolrooms or place of meeting. The boys and girls of the night-schools were also taken to Church every Wednesday, to be told by a Puseyite parson that "if they attended chapel he could not be responsible for their souls." Poor deluded and deluding man! Were he only to review his past life, he may become sensible that a very weighty responsibility rests upon him in respect to his own soul. He may have other matters to "thank God" for before the school children than "that his foot was never within a chapel." But whatever was to be heard in Church, the teachers were ordered to compel the children to attend. When they attended Sunday School, they were taken, without asking their consent, to Church. If they did not attend Sunday School and Church, they were punished on Monday, sometimes brutally, being flogged with canes or rods till their hands and arms were black and blue, and continued so for weeks.

In the memorable days of the Charleses, the Dissenters had their ears cut and noses slit. We now give praises to God that the era of persecution is gone. But is it gone, or does it remain, or has it returned? Our London friends, with folded arms in their peaceful sanctuaries, may sing praises for Christian liberty and full toleration under the reign of our beloved Victoria; but it is more right at least for them to know that all their brethren do not enjoy the same privileges. If the men's ears and noses are whole, their children's arms and hands are all bruises.

In order to avoid such evils, and have their children to learn what would be useful for them, instead of creeds and catechisms which they did not approve of,

several Dissenting parents sent their children to school at some distance, although they had to pay for them there, while they paid others for their support of the Cwmavon Schools. But they were ordered, under pain of dismissal from the works, to take them without delay from such a school, and send them to the Cwmavon School; and at the same time they were told that they would not be admitted to the Cwmavon Schools unless they would attend school and Church on Sunday. Some were turned from school for going to chapel, and others were stopped in the works for keeping Sunday School. In a word, everything short of discharging all the Dissenters and sending them away from the place *en masse*, was done to empty the chapels and fill the Church. Such a course would, perhaps, not be quite convenient, as four-fifths of the work-people are Dissenters.

When we consider the absolute power the manager possesses, and the open, unequivocal manner in which he has exhibited his partiality for the Church and hatred to Dissenters, and his determination to insult and injure them, it is truly surprising that the people have adhered so steadfastly to their principles. Only a few—very few—worthless individuals were gained over to the Church by the above means; but many hundreds of the best artisans have gone away to serve worthier masters on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is nothing more reckless than a rash, headstrong, foolish agent, managing only to please himself at the expense of others. A managing proprietor would appreciate an able agent or a good workman; but a reckless manager, who has no interest in the works, will, as the cashier of Cwmavon very properly said, "discharge the best man in the place if he will not oblige him." There is no security for any man under such management. The sycophant and the tale-bearer reign in their glory.

For eight years I have laboured at Cwmavon,

imparting moral and religious instruction and spiritual consolation to the people. During that period I preached about 1,000 sermons, baptised about 700 children, and admitted to church fellowship about 400 individuals. Many hundreds of times I have attended Sunday Schools, prayer meetings, societies, and night-schools. I have often visited one-half of the families so I could not help becoming acquainted with the grievances complained of. I know more of Cwmavon, in all respects, than any other man living. I can write volumes; but were I only to write the tenth of what I know, I would go beyond the limits of credibility, or disgust the reader. I saw, I felt, I heard, I believed, and at last, after long waiting some providential interposition, I resolved to speak.

I could not believe that such an important and honourable body as the directors of the Bank of England would sanction or tolerate these outrages on the consciences and persons of workmen virtually in their employ. I subsequently wrote to the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., London, taking his advice under such circumstances. I was aware he had visited Cwmavon the previous summer, and that he might therefore form some idea of the case. He kindly promised he would do all he could to procure to the operatives of Cwmavon perfect religious freedom, and a correspondence ensued between him and the Governor of the Bank of England, which I will embody in my next communication.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD ROBERTS.

Cwmavon,
March 22, 1852.

To the Editor of "The Morning Advertiser."

SIR,—In my last communication I stated that I would lay before your readers a correspondence which had taken place between the Rev. John Kennedy of

London, and the Bank of England relative to the religious persecution carried on by persons in the employ of the Bank of England, against workmen employed in the Cwmavon Iron Works, solely because, as Dissenters, their conscientious scruples would not allow them to attend the Church of England. I now proceed to redeem this promise. The first letter was written by the reverend gentleman, and is addressed to the Governor of the Bank of England. It is as follows:—

"SIR,—I beg to call your attention to facts, or alleged facts, of a grave character, affecting the conduct of certain persons connected with the Cwmavon Works in South Wales, now, it is said, virtually in the hands of the Bank of England. Three weeks ago I received a letter from the Rev. Edward Roberts, Independent Minister at Cwmavon, earnestly soliciting my advice and assistance in the following circumstances:—

"The chapel in which Mr. Roberts ministers accommodates 1,000 persons. The communicants, or members attached to it, are 400. All the inhabitants of Cwmavon, with very few exceptions, are dependent on the works, and four-fifths of the men are Dissenters 'were they to have liberty.' But the manager and his lady have done all they can to win them over to the Church of England, not by fair means, but by promise of advantages in the works, and threats of dismissal. Mr. Roberts says that he (Mr. R.) has never interfered with any secular affair in the neighbourhood, and refers in proof of this to the late managers, C. Lean, Esq., and T. R. Guppy, Esq. But now he considers it would be criminal to be silent, as there are powers at work which, he says, unless they be prevented, will destroy his congregation altogether.

"These statements appeared to me so serious that I wrote immediately to a gentleman of my acquaintance in Swansea, for information respecting the character of my correspondent, and his reply is, 'Edward Roberts I know well. He is safe, cautious, and firm.'

"I wrote at the same time to Mr. Roberts, to ask if he was prepared to substantiate his statements, and I have now the honour to enclose an extract from his reply, along with a printed copy of rules and regulations of Cwmavon Schools.

"The burden of the complaint is, that in the only day-school allowed in the place, being at the same time supported by money kept from the wages of all the workmen, the attendance of the children of Dissenters is required on Sundays for the purpose of going to Church; that parents, from whose own wages a portion is substracted for the support of the school, are compelled either to withdraw their children from the school, or to let them go to Church, instead of taking them to the worship their conscience prefers, and that this system is enforced in a despotic and cruel manner by Mrs. Biddulph, the lady of the manager of the works.

"I do not wish to assume the truth of these charges, although the fifth printed rule seems to indicate that Mrs. Biddulph is the supreme authority in the school, and the sixth shows that Sunday attendance is required of each boy. But I submit that the honour of the Bank of England requires a rigid and impartial inquiry into the circumstances of

the alleged facts. There can be no wish on the part of the directors to trample on the religious liberties of the artisans and labourers of Cwmavon; and I cannot doubt that this appeal to you, as Governor, will secure justice to men who are entitled to all the privileges of British citizens.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"JOHN KENNEDY."

To the above there was a postscript which, being immaterial, we omit. The enclosed extract referred to is the following:—

Extract of a letter from the Rev. Edward Roberts, of Cwmavon, to the Rev. J. Kennedy, of Stepney, dated Cwmavon, January 6, 1852:—

"The facts in my last, and many more, may be proved by scores of witnesses, were they to have some guarantee of protection. I may state the following:—

"1. The books at the Cwmavon office prove that the schools are supported by money kept from the wages of all the workmen.

"2. Statistics gathered by Government and Sir B. Hall prove that four-fifths of the inhabitants that are of any religion are Dissenters.

"3. Printed rules of the schools prove partly that all children attending school must attend Church on Sunday. (See Rule 6 in the enclosed). Any inquiry, if truth be told, will prove the same fully. Rule 6 shows that the schools are under the control of Mrs. Biddulph.

"4. A son of William Lewis, agent, Chemical Works, was ordered out of school by Mrs. Biddulph for not attending Church on Sundays. His father had told Mrs. Biddulph he always took his children with him to the Independent Chapel.

"5. Mrs. Lloyd, widow, Park Row, was ordered by Mrs. Biddulph to take her girl from Baglan School (a place three miles off) and send her to the Cwmavon School, and to Church on Sunday, and was threatened to be ejected from the house if she did not do so at once.

"6. John Morgan, Park Row, was ordered by Mrs. Biddulph, on pain of dismissal, to do the same with his son, though he had been admitted a member of our church. His father is one of our deacons.

"7. Mrs. Evans, Pantdu, widow, living in her own house, sent her children for a short time, on payment, to the Cwmavon Schools, and told Mrs. Biddulph that she took them with her on Sunday to the Independent Chapel. The following week, Mrs. Biddulph told Mrs. Evans's children not to come to school if they did not attend Church on Sundays. Mrs. Evans wrote to ask if the children's report was correct, but she received no reply, so the children were kept at home.

"To prove that the conduct of the manager, and especially his lady, in respect to religion, has been as I represent, I may refer to Samuel Bamford, Builder, Aberavon; Charles Evans, at Mr. Davy Gwlle's, Swansea; William Lewis, Agent, Chemical Works, Cwmavon; William Lewis, Agent, Ystalyfera Works, Swansea."

"The printed rules referred to are the following:—

"'5th. . . . . Unsanctioned absence of a week will subject the boy to be dismissed, and he cannot be readmitted without a card from Mrs. Biddulph.

"'6th. The presence of each boy is expected on Sunday at the reading room, at half-past nine o'clock in the morning, and at five in the afternoon. If the boy does not return home with a ticket, the parents may know that he has either been late, or has not attended.'"

In reply to the above letter, Mr. Kennedy received the following:—

"The Governor of the Bank of England presents his compliments to Mr. Kennedy, and has taken immediate measures to obtain the information which will enable him to reply to the statements forwarded by him relative to the Cwmavon Schools.

"Bank of England, January 22, 1852."

The following letter was soon afterwards received by Mr. Kennedy:—

"BANK OF ENGLAND,

"January 30, 1852.

"SIR,—I am desired by the Governor to acquaint you that he has received from Mr. Biddulph, the manager under the Bank of England of the Cwmavon Iron Works, an answer to the representations of the Rev. Edward Roberts, and he is much gratified to find that in the conduct of the schools, and in the treatment of the work-people, and of their children generally, neither Mr. nor Mrs. Biddulph ever exercised the influence their position gave them to infringe upon the religious liberty of the people.

"Mr. Biddulph shows conclusively, that he employs in high and inferior offices Churchmen and Dissenters indifferently. The use of bribes and threats he unequivocally disclaims, and he states in refutation of the grievances alleged in Mr. Roberts's facts:—

"(No. 4). That Lewis still has three children at the school, of whom one attends school, two do not.

"(No. 5). That Mrs. Lloyd was asked by Mrs. Biddulph why she sent her child to a school three miles off when we had taken such pains with the schools here, but was never threatened with ejection from her house if she did not send the child to Church, &c., on Sunday. John Morgan, a man, though an Independent, filling a responsible and well-paid office in the stores, was not threatened with dismissal by Mrs. Biddulph, who has no power to use such threats, but was asked why he did not send his boy to our school; and having stated that he learnt no grammar there, was answered that it was now to be taught,—and he has sent the boy ever since, and has told me that he is well satisfied with his progress.

"(No. 6). Mrs. Evans, Pantdu,—a woman well-to-do in the world, but totally unconnected with the Company, and not living on their property, asked permission to send her child, which was granted; the child not coming to Sunday School was asked the reason, when a letter came from the mother stating she wished her to go to chapel, which Mrs. Biddulph considered sufficient; but the child was not sent again; had he been, he would have been received as others are. This woman contributes no funds to the school.

or when he uses flattery? Under all circumstances, I trust to be able to prove, if required, all that I have stated, and much more in time, but I never said I could do so if witnesses were not protected.'

"There are statements in the same letter of January 27th so opposed to those sent to you by Mr. Biddulph that we cannot but feel the necessity of having the whole story investigated by an impartial person. I will trouble you with only one specimen.

"In reference to Lewis (No. 4), the original charge read thus—

> "'A son of William Lewis, agent, Chemical Works, was ordered out of school by Mr. Biddulph for not attending Church on Sunday. His father told Mr. Biddulph he always took him with him to the Independent Chapel.'

"In reply Mr. Biddulph reports to you 'that Lewis still has three children at the school, of whom one attends school (query, Church?), and two do not.'

"Now hear Mr. Roberts in this case, writing January 27th:—

"'Last Friday Mr. Biddulph questioned Mr. Lewis, Chemical Works, about his son leaving school, and Lewis told him it was Mr. B. turned him from school for not attending Church. An angry conversation for more than twenty minutes ensued, Mr. Biddulph seeming displeased that Lewis stood firm to that statement. Before he put the first question about the school, he mentioned he intended to introduce his eldest son to a good situation. To-day, Mr. Biddulph and Mr. Bagot, manager's assistant, called on Lewis to question him again, which they did very warmly for a long time, wanting to get an admission from Lewis that Biddulph did nothing against Dissenters. Lewis mentioned fresh circumstances.'

"In other particulars the statements of Mr. Roberts are as directly at variance with those of Mr. Biddulph, as for example, in the case of John Morgan, who is reported by Mr. Roberts as having been called before Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph, and having told them that the original statement made by Mr. R. was correct.

"But it is unnecessary to enter into further detail. It must be obvious that the acquittal of the manager of the Cwmavon Works, by himself or on 'ex parte' evidence, furnished by himself, possesses no moral weight, and can satisfy no one. To make the inquiry what it ought to be, first—it must be conducted by impartial judges; secondly—the witnesses must be protected from injury.

"Nothing but an investigation so conducted can tend to any satisfactory result.

"Allow me to add, that I have no desire to see the charges alleged against the management of Cwmavon brought before the public. So far from it, that if I saw any certain prospect that what may have been done in the past shall not be done in the future, I would withdraw my hand from it at once; but so far as the evidence goes at present, it does not sustain the conclusion 'that Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph have not allowed their zeal to transgress the rule of Christian charity, or respect for liberty of conscience.' Let me recall your attention to the fact that Mr. Roberts appeals to the former manager to prove that he is not given to interfere with secular affairs in his neighbourhood; that he makes no complaint as to the way in which the school is supported, but as to the

"CWMAVON, TAIBACH,
"March 4, 1852.

"SIR,—I have the honour of presenting to you the enclosed petition of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers at Cwmavon; also copies of several written testimonials, showing that they do not trouble you without cause. The same documents have bearing on a correspondence which has taken place between yourself and the Rev. J. Kennedy, and they prove that the replies sent by Mr. Biddulph to your inquiries were (to say the least) evasive. It may be proved from the reports of Government Commissioners, that the schools were not connected with any denomination when Mr. Biddulph became manager. It is unfair also that Dissenting parents are forced to buy Church books when they cannot justly afford it.

"I beg to thank you for what you have done. Liberty on Sunday, to some extent, was granted the school children during the last month. But this week Mr. Biddulph ordered all the boys to attend on Sunday, and threatened he would dismiss the parents of such children who would not attend. He also took one boy into the chemical works by the hair, ordering him to attend Church next Sunday, and commanded Mr. Lewis, agent of the works, to stop him next Monday unless he would produce a ticket from the schoolmaster proving his attendance.

"The petitioners trust that it is in your will and power to grant their requests fully, and without delay, and so save them the painful necessity of publishing a complete statement of the case, and petitioning Parliament to interfere by legislative enactments.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,
"EDWARD ROBERTS, Independent Minister.

"To Thomas Hankey, Esq., Governor of the Bank of England."

The following is the petition referred to in the above communication:—

"CWMAVON, TAIBACH,
"February 16, 1852.

"SIR,—We, the undersigned Protestant Dissenting Ministers, ministering statedly in accordance to the regulations of the denominations to which we belong, at Cwmavon, Glamorganshire, being deeply concerned about the religious training of the children, humbly but earnestly pray that you will exercise your influence or authority to put the day and night schools at teh above-named place on a right footing, to be conducted on liberal principles.

"We deem it to be just to all the population of Cwmavon, and know it to be the desire of a large majority, that the said schools should not be connected with, or be made the means to diffuse the peculiar views and doctrines of any one denomination. And that our requests may be definitely understood, we beg to state that they imply the following particulars:—

'1. That no religious creeds, catechisms, or formula, be taught in the schools.

'2. That attendance on Sundays at any particular school or place of worship be not required. The teachers may require satisfaction that all the children attend some place of worship.

'3. That the teachers be at liberty to attend any place of worship they may choose.

'4. That Dissenting Ministers, as well as Clergymen of the Established Church, be invited to visit the schools at specified times.

'5. That the general management of the school be invested in a commitee elected by all the workmen.

"We beg humbly to submit that the national system is not suitable for schools supported by all denominations, and intended to meet the wants of a whole neighbourhood; the British system may answer the purpose.

"We beg to call attention to the importance of the case, and the justice of the requests, with confidence that the matter will not be overlooked, and assurance that we can never cease to use all available and Christian means to procure to the operatives of Cwmavon the enjoyment of perfect religious freedom.

"We remain, Sir, your obedient servants,

"EDWARD ROBERTS, Independent Minister, Zion, Cwmavon;
"WILLIAM THOMAS, Independent Minister, Rock, Cwmavon;
"JOHN ROWLANDS, Baptist Minister, Cwmavon;
"JOHN DAVIES, Independent Minister, Bryn, Cwmavon;
"SAMUEL JORY, Bible Christian Minister, Cwmavon;
"DAVID THOMAS, Baptist Minister, Cwmavon (at his desire).

"To the Governor of the Bank of England."

Copies and extracts of documents, written or signed by the parties themselves, containing the substance of what they had complained of verbally to me, relative to infringement on their religious freedom at Cwmavon.

No. 1 is in the handwriting of the Rev. Mr. Rowlands, Baptist Minister at Cwmavon, and signed in the handwriting of the witness himself, that is, Rev. D. Thomas, Baptist Minister. Mr. Thomas is, I think, 65 years of age.

[COPY.]

"I called with Mr. Biddulph at the office, to ask permission to enlarge our chapel, and he refused it, and said, 'I can shut up your chapel, and I will do it, unless you give up keeping school at the time of our meetings or our services.'

"DAVID THOMAS, Baptist Minister.

"February 3, 1852."

No. 2 is all in the handwriting of David Lewis, son of Mr. W. Lewis, Chemical Works, Cwmavon. He will be 16 years of age next July.

[COPY.]

"JERSEY ROW, CWMAVON,

"January 27, 1852.

"SIR,—I, David Lewis, do this day testify that I was dismissed from the Cwmavon Workmen's Day School by Mr. Biddulph, for refusing to attend the Established Church service on Sunday,—the doctrine of which Church I do not agree with. Also, I am witness of seeing several being beaten at school for refusing the same, and I am willing to bear testimony of the above at any time elsewhere.

"I am,

"DAVID LEWIS,

"(At Mr. Evan's Provision Factory, Pantdu)."

No. 3 is in my own handwriting, and signed in the handwriting of the witness himself, that is, Jonathan Davies, who directed me to write it. He is engaged in a very particular work. The Mrs. Jenkins referred to is the governess at the Bryn day-school.

[COPY.]

"CWMAVON,

"January 28, 1852.

"I have been at Cwmavon Works for 16 years, and have been setting down the trams on the Bryn incline for five years. On a Monday, between one and two o'clock, Mr. David Thomas, coal agent, under whom I work, came to me when I was setting the trams, and told me I should not work an hour longer on the work. I asked him why. He said, 'Because you stop the children to go to Church on Sunday, and prevent them to go to school to Mrs. Jenkins, by persuading them to attend a school which you keep on the Bryn.' I asked him to have to finish the work, or finish the day. He said, 'You shall work here no more.' About two o'clock next day, John Thomas, who had the charge of the coal and mine on the road from Bryn to Cwmavon, came to me and said he had been with Mr. Biddulph, requesting him to get me back, and he told me to go to Mr. Biddulph to the office. I went there. Mr. Biddulph asked me how long I had kept school on Sundays at Bryn. I said five years. He asked me what I taught to the children; what language. I said Welsh to those who were in the levels working, and English to the children who attended day-school. He requested me to go and help Mrs. Jenkins. I said I would not go. He told me then to go back to my work, and teach the children as well as I can in English. Mr. Thomas told me that Mrs. Biddulph sent him up to stop me.

"(Signed), JONATHAN DAVIES,

"Bryn Incline, Cwmavon."

No. 4 is all in the handwriting of the witness, that is, David Evans, who is a puddler. Bethania is not a chapel where I minister.

[COPY.]

'No. 34, PELLY STREET, CWMAVON,

"January 28, 1852.

"REV. SIR,—I state to you in English as well as I can, what I complained of to you in respect to the Cwmavon Schools. Jane Hughes, my little sister-in-law, is about 12 years of age, and a member of the Independent Church at Bethania, Gwaentymaen. About three months ago she was attending the Cwmavon School. The governess of the school told her she must attend to the Church every Sunday, and that if she don't, that she shall be flogged. The little girl did not obey the governess's orders by going to Church, but next Monday morning after that she had been called before the governess, when she asked her where she had been Sunday. The little girl gave the whole account of it. The governess lashed her seven or eight times with a heavy rod. That was done several times. My father-in-law came to me one day, and asked me if I would write a bit of a note to Mrs. Biddulph, to beg her favour for to give the aforesaid Jane Hughes liberty on Sunday. So I did write a note, in which I stated that the bearer, Jane Hughes, was a member of the Independent Church at Bethania, Gwaentymaen, and in consequence of that she does beg Mrs. Biddulph's favour to give her free on Sunday, and to tell the governess not to beat her no more. My wife, Margaret Evans, went with her to Mr. Biddulph's house. They met Mrs. Biddulph by the house, when my wife gave the note to Mrs Biddulph. She took the note and read it; then she told my wife she don't care much to give her free. 'But stop,' says she, 'till Mr. Biddulph himself will be here.' Mr. Biddulph came, when the note was handed to him. After he read it, he stamped his foot to the ground, and said, 'They do learn nothing at the Independent chapels but wickedness. She deserved to be flogged for not obeying the governess's orders. Do you think I will break the rules of the school to please you? If she is not willing to attend the Church on Sunday, she better not come to school in the week.'

"Your humble servant,

"DAVID EVANS.

"Rev. E. Roberts."

No. 5 is all in the handwriting of the witness, that is, John Morris. He is a boy about 13 years of age, the son of David Morris, Summerset Place, Cwmavon. The document was written under the direction of the father.

[AN EXTRACT.]

"My father is a member with the Independents about twenty-eight years, and my mother about twenty-six years, and I wish to go to the same place as my parents. And every Monday, after I have been in chapel, they keeps me in every Monday an hour or two to learn a page of spelling or a page of grammar, or have a good beating on our backs, or two or three slaps on each hand, for not going to Church. January the nineteenth, my mother came to fetch me home, and the master told that he would beat me before her eyes for not coming to Church, and

he told that he would beat me in the afternoon and keep me in two hours, but he did not have the chance. I was not in school since that day, &c.

"JOHN MORRIS."

No. 6 is in my own handwriting, written as directed by the witness, that is, Rhys Davies, and signed in his own handwriting.

"I am a member and a preacher with the Baptists. I used, about a year ago, to go to Bryn (a place about two miles from Cwmavon, where there are coal works belonging to Cwmavon), to preach and keep a Sunday School. At that time I heard many parents of our denomination, and others, complain that their children were obliged to attend Cwmavon Church, contrary to their wishes. When they did not go to Church, the schoolmistress did punish them on Monday by putting them to stand on benches, or keeping them in at dinner times. Many of the children, when I questioned them, said the same thing. We had a house at Bryn to hold meetings in; when there were many houses vacant, that house was taken from us. I went to Mr. Biddulph, requesting to keep the house on, paying the same rent for it as for dwelling houses. He said there was enough of room for us all at Church, that we should go there.

"(Signed), RHYS DAVIES,
"6, Gower Street."

No. 7 is all in the handwriting of the witness, that is, John Morgan. He has been at Cwmavon Works more than 30 years, and for a great part of that time in the same situation at the stores. Nine days ago he was questioned before Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph about the contents of the following document. This week he was told by Mr. F. Evans, clerk in the Cwmavon office, in the name of Mr. Biddulph, that he was to consider himself under notice.

[COPY.]

"Mrs. Biddulph asked me one day in June last, where was my little boy. I told her I sent him to Baglan School to learn grammar, and she told me, 'If you will not bring your boy back to this school next Monday, I will make Mr. Biddulph turn you about your business.' And the same day she told me, 'If you will not send your children to the Sunday School and to Church, Mr. Biddulph told you shall not send them to the day-school.' She also said the same thing many times before.

"J. MORGAN,
"Park Row."

No. 8 is all in the handwriting of the witness, that is Mrs. Evans, Pantdu, Cwmavon. Her children were

sent to school on payment. The bill for the boy, which Mrs. Biddulph sent in her own handwriting, was "3s. 3d." for "a quarter's school."

[COPY.]

"DEAR SIR,—What I have to state in respect to the Cwmavon School is this :—I sent my two children there for a short time. Mrs. Biddulph called and asked me where they were going on Sunday. I said I took them with me to the Independent Chapel. She did not object then, but in a few days, my little boy, who is going on twelve years of age, told me that Mrs. Biddulph said to him at school, that unless he attended the school on Sunday he should not attend school in the week, and for him to tell his mother the same thing in respect to his little sister. I wrote to Mrs. Biddulph requesting to know was the statement correct, but I never had a reply, consequently the children were kept at home.

"I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

"JENNET EVANS.

"Mr. Roberts, Independent Minister."

No. 9 is all in the handwriting of the witness, that is, John Davies, student, Normal College, Swansea. He was working at Cwmavon for years, was a member in our church, and a teacher in the Sunday School.

[AN EXTRACT.]

"I know many months ago the Dissenting party at Cwmavon would not allow that they enjoyed religious freedom wholly, because that their children were compelled to attend Church on Sunday; and so it was. For instance, Samuel Hopkin was a pious young boy, but as he was compelled by Mrs. Biddulph to attend Church on Sunday, he became perfectly destroyed, so that he would go to neither church, chapel, nor school. Other proofs I could state if it would be necessary. But I did not know that it was continuing the same until I came over last Christmas, when I turned into a house, of which the heads of the family were Dissenters, and I asked them if their little daughter was attending the Sunday School in chapel, and the answer was 'No, because she was ordered to attend Church on Sunday,' &c.

"JOHN DAVIES.

"Swansea, January 31, 1852."

No. 10 is in my own handwriting, written at the request and under the direction of Thomas Brown, and signed in his own handwriting.

[COPY.]

"I am a member with the Baptists at Cwmavon. About a year and a half ago, I was engaged to repair the Cwmavon Church. The clergyman, Mr. Walker, came to Church when I was at work. I had my hat on. Mr. Walker told me I should have taken off my hat in a consecrated place. We had some discussion about consecration. About

three weeks after, Mrs. Biddulph came to me to my work, and asked my name. I said it was Brown. She said, 'So I thought. You ought to take your hat off when going to a place consecrated by a bishop. You get your bread under Mr. Biddulph, do you not? I will tell Mr. Biddulph about you; I will not forget you.' In a fortnight afterwards I was discharged.

"(Signed), THOMAS BROWN,
" No. 42, Gower Street."

No. 11 is all in the handwriting of David Sims, and dated Gadlys, Neath, Jan. 31st, 1852. David Sims was for many years clerk at the Cwmavon office. He used to attend our chapel often, but was not a member of the church. His lodgings were on the wayside, between the reading-rooms and the church. He left Cwmavon about six months ago.

[AN EXTRACT.]

" I always understood that all the children of the schools were given to understand that their punctual attendance at Church was required. I have often seen the boys of the night-school walking to Church on Wednesday evenings, and Davies, their teacher, walking from the reading-rooms to Church with the boys, and the teacher of the day-schools with the girls, as they generally do on Sunday.

" DAVID SIMS."

No. 12 is in the handwriting of the first who has signed, and signed in his handwriting, and in the handwriting of the other two. William Lewis was at Cwmavon till about a month ago. The schoolmistresses have been for years, and are now, the governesses of the Cwmavon Schools.

[COPY.]

" We, the undersigned, hereby testify that during the last two years, at least, all the children who attended school on Sunday at the reading-rooms and day-school-rooms, Cwmavon, were always taken together, two abreast, to the Established Church services, morning and evening.

" WM. LEWIS, Ystalyfera Iron Works,
" A. HABAKKUK, National Schoolmistress.
" E. E. COOK, Infant Mistress."

The force of the above document will be seen when compared with Rule 6 on the printed paper, which requires the attendance on Sunday at the school of every child attending in the week.

No. 13 is all in the handwriting of Thomas West,

the witness. He was for years at the Cwmavon works. About eighteen months ago he met with an accident at the works, which deprived him of one leg. He was at school at Baglan and Cwmavon for a time, qualifying himself for some employment he might undertake after that loss. He was for years a member with the Independents, and was so when at the Cwmavon School. Having failed, after waiting a long time, to get anything to do at Cwmavon, he is gone to his native place in Carmarthenshire. His age, I think, is about seven-and-twenty years.

[AN EXTRACT TRANSLATED VERBATIM FROM THE WELSH.]

"You asked me about what Mrs. Biddulph told me. She told me for to come to Church, and that she would procure (insist) on having a situation for me. When I was in the day-school she told it to me.

"THOMAS WEST."

The original documents I have in my possession, and will produce them any time in London or at Cwmavon, before impartial judges. I have also several more of the same nature, and can procure them almost to any number.

EDWARD ROBERTS,
February 14, 1852. Independent Minister.

The reply which I had to the letter, the petition, and the documents, was the following:—

"BANK OF ENGLAND,
"March 11, 1852.

"Sir,—The Governor of the Bank of England desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th March, with various enclosures, all of which he has transmitted to Mr. Biddulph.

"I am Sir, your obedient servant,

"The Rev. E. Roberts." "JOHN BENTLEY, Sec.

Nine days have elapsed, and we have had no redress at Cwmavon, and I received no further promise or information, either from the bank or from the managers. The same conduct has continued till this very day. Yesterday I saw the children of the day and night-school being marched to Church, as usual, by their teachers, and Mr. Biddulph himself with a great stick

in his hand, like a policeman walking about, so that no one might escape.

In a few days more I shall make some observations on the preceding documents and correspondence, and to assist the Governor to discover how worthy of that trust is the "gentleman on whose veracity he reposes the highest confidence," and shall make other disclosures, though not of exactly the same nature as the above, and, if possible, more scandalous.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Cwmavon, March 22, 1852. EDWARD ROBERTS.

A Report from "The Swansea and Glamorgan Herald."

"A very interesting demonstration of kindly feeling to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph was exhibited at Cwmavon on Saturday afternoon week, by the agents and workmen, in consequence of the calumnious letters which have emanated from the pen of Mr. Roberts, an Independent minister at Cwmavon. A very large concourse of workmen and agents, headed by the Cwmavon Brass Band, and accompanied by banners and emblematic flags, such as "Health and Happiness to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph," "Cwmavon Workmen thank Mr. and Mrs, Biddulph," "Success to Cwmavon under Biddulph and the Bank," &c., proceeded at about half-past five o'clock to Coed Park to present the address which we insert below. On reaching the Park, Mr. Sauphier addressed the meeting as follows:—

"Fellow-agents and workmen,—Every person in this procession is aware of the reason of our meeting together this day. We have come here to present an address to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph, expressive of their uniform kindness to us and our families since their arrival at Cwmavon. An attack has lately been made upon them in the public prints, charging them with religious intolerance, and we, the agents, clerks, artisans, and workmen employed at these works, considered that if we

took no notice of it, we would by our silence be acquiescing in this calumny against our employers. We can very readily believe that if a manager does not do his duty, he leaves himself open to censure, but that a gentleman who, by precept (and still better, by example) inculcates obedience to the Divine command of 'Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day,' and requests his men to go to some place of worship, and take their families with them, stopping all labour of men and horses on that day that could possibly be dispensed with, and you may well remember how many men and horses used to be at work on Sunday before he came here, using all the means in his power for the moral as well as the educational training of the rising generation,—should be abused for such praiseworthy conduct as this, and that he should be charged with religious intolerance, is out of all reason. We feel it to be our duty to record our feelings of indignation against such a charge. How often have we heard Mrs. Biddulph say that she would be delighted to have every child in the schools of these works so thoroughly educated that they would be enabled to earn their own bread if thrown upon the world. We cannot be too thankful to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph for devoting their time, their energy, and giving liberally out of their private purse, for the good of those whom they are placed over, and sincerely do we hope that they may remain many, very many, happy years amongst us, and that the voice of slander will never again be raised against them.

"Mr. Bagot then read the following address:—

"CWMAVON,

"March 29th, 1852.

"(To John Biddulph, Esq., Manager of the Cwmavon Works, Glamorganshire, and Mrs. Biddulph).

"We, the undersigned agents, workmen, and others, connected with this extensive establishment, have seen in the 'Morning Advertiser' of the 25th inst., a letter signed 'Edward Roberts,' an Independent Minister of this place. We have also seen in the 'Mining Journal' of the 27th inst., a communication referring to that letter. We regret that Mr. Roberts should have written such a document, because he has

stated therein much that is false, and has done so in an unchristianlike and defamatory manner. We regret that he should have attempted to make the world believe that you are the cruel tyrants of secluded Cwmavon, and that we, the seven thousand who submit to that tyranny, are such spiritless and serf-like worms, and are unable to correct our wrongs without his invaluable aid. We regret that he should have taken so much pains to prove that you have converted but 'a few—a very few, and they but 'worthless individuals.'

"We deny that the principal, or any other workmen have been 'marked out for insult and revenge because they were Dissenters,' or for any other pretext. We deny that 'the way to promotion in the works has been through the Church.' We deny that any man has ever, to our knowledge, been taken on or dismissed because of his religious views. We admit that strict rules have been made regarding attendance at the schools, and as a result the number of scholars now attending is one thousand compared with two hundred when you came here about four years ago. We thank you for your exertions to educate our children; but we deny that those children have been brutally flogged 'with canes or rods till their hands and arms were black and blue, and continued so for weeks.'

"We deny that Cwmavon is in that delightful seclusion it is represented, because at our reading-room there are several daily and weekly newspapers and periodicals, and eight monthly, and we feel ourselves under the same liberty of speech, as far as you are concerned, as any other portions of the kingdom. We admit that Aberavon is at the mouth of our valley, though unconnected with Cwmavon; but we deny that the highly-praised municipal or corporation authority which governs it has tended to improve its inhabitants or elevate their principles. We covet neither the government nor the morality of such like corporate towns. We admit that you have no personal advantage from the extension of education here, because your uncertainty of tenure prevents its possibility. But we maintain that since you came here you have laboured hard to promote our health, our livelihood, our character, our education, and our religion, and we maintain that we always considered ourselves at liberty to leave your service by giving proper notice thereof. We believe that no 'powerful revival has here attracted more than usual to the chapels,' but we cannot conceal our belief that the reduction of men in these works has withdrawn numbers from this place, and consequently lessened the attendance at all the various places of religious worship. We deny that you have been an extravagant or 'reckless manager, pleasing yourself at the expense of others.' We think you have been quite the contrary. We consider that your economy has alone kept these works from ruin, and thousands from starvation. Reckless you may have been of your own health and peace of mind, but not of your employers' property. Gladly, therefore, do we now bear testimony to the ability, judgment, and perseverance you have shown in piloting this vast ship through the long-continued and perilous dangers that have threatened her destruction. We admit that several, perhaps two hundred, workmen of all classes have been paid off during the past twelve months, in consequence of the slackness of trade, but we deny that they would have gone had they been allowed to remain. And finally, we sincerely regret that Mr. Roberts should have made use of such foul-mouthed

language, and we think that his zeal has not been tempered with that discretion which we should hope to find in the writings of a Minister of the Gospel. Feeling, therefore, the injustice that has been attempted to be done to you, and feeling also the degradation and infamy which Mr. Roberts has heaped upon us, as the reputed agents and tools, or the unfortunate and dumb victims, of such intolerance and persecution, by thus enthralling or being enthralled, such as no free-born Briton of the present enlightened age would submit to,—we declare ourselves grievously annoyed at the aforesaid publications, and now adopt this mode of repudiating the charges brought with so much malice against us, and still more particularly against you; and if the spontaneous outburst of our feelings, and the unsolicited expression of our sympathies on the present occasion be, as we consider they will be, an acceptable and fitting record of our good wishes to you, we most gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to hope that long may you both be spared to carry on the management of these works with the same Christian feeling and upright principle that you have hitherto at all times adopted and at all times observed."

"Mr. Griffith Howell, a workman, spoke for a short time in Welsh. He said that he had been here 22 years, and that more good had been done by Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph towards civilizing the place than had been done by all the preachers and clergymen during those 22 years. In the row in which he lived he had often known five and six small beer-shops or "*Cwrw bachs*," so that the neighbours could not sleep or rest at night from the shameful proceedings and noise that went on. Now there is not one, and for this he would give all the credit to Mr. Biddulph. As for Mrs. Biddulph, she spent all her time among the children and the schools, and he believed she took more care of many of the children than their own parents did. He was sure every man at Cwmavon could tell the same thing, and bless Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph for all they had done for the place.

"Mr. Biddulph then made the following reply:—

"GENTLEMEN AND FRIENDS,—I thank you for the expressions of sympathy, and for your denial of the unfounded charges preferred against Mrs Biddulph and myself.

"It is perfectly untrue that either of us have in any way directly or indirectly interfered with the religious opinions of any one. During my whole life I have been a strenuous advocate of all measures calculated to promote both civil and religious liberty, as also the education of the people.

"Entertaining these views, I have employed men of all denominations as my agents, and I have allowed more chapels to be built or

enlarged here since I came than have ever been done by any previous manager. The schools also have had my serious attention, and they have had Mrs. Biddulph's personal and unwearied exertions in bringing them to their present excellent condition. Convinced, as we both are, that education, to be of advantage, must be good, and that no half-and-half measures could avail, we have spared no trouble or expense in providing instructors and materials for carrying out a good sound system of moral and religious education; at the same time, no ultra views or doctrines have been taught or insisted on; but the foundation which has been attempted to be built on has been duty to God and duty to their neighbours, and I would wish here to call your attention to the rule that all children have full liberty on the Sunday to go to any school or place of worship which their parents may desire on proper application to the teacher; but it is necessary that such application be made, otherwise the children are constantly found idling and committing mischief in the streets, and go to no place of worship at all. I entreat all of you further to understand that I have no wish in any way to control your religious opinions. Good conduct, character, and ability, alone weigh with me in the promotion or dismissal of men; at the same time I will add that I cannot respect or countenance the man who goes to no place of worship on the Sabbath, and with a view to prevent any man saying that he could not go to church or chapel, you are well aware that I have made arrangements whereby the working on Sundays has been as much as practicable discontinued.

"In conclusion, let me beg of you to remember that the interests of the master and workmen are so intimately blended that one cannot suffer without the other, and I look confidently to the day when education shall spread through the land and carry the conviction of this fact to the minds of all, and then we may hope there will be an end of those collisions which frequently so seriously injure the interests of both. Since my sojourn among you I have been actuated by one motive only, viz., your good, and although at times the measures proposed may not have been exactly to your liking, yet I assure you that your interests and welfare have never been lost sight of by me.

"In the name of Mrs. Biddulph and myself, I beg to thank you for this memorial of your kindness and due appreciation of my conduct, and trust that you will ever believe me, what I wish to be,

"Your friend,

"JOHN BIDDULPH."

"The address, which had been signed by upwards of one thousand workmen out of about fourteen hundred, and which was twenty feet long, was carried by Mr. Hopkin Davies, the oldest agent at Cwmavon. It was handsomely decorated with gay ribbons, and when floating in the breeze, suspended from a lofty pole, presented an animating and novel sight.

"The cheering, during its being read and afterwards,

for Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph, was of the most hearty and enthusiastic description. The whole proceedings passed off most cordially and well, which, considering the thousands of persons assembled, and the strangeness of the occasion, viz., to repudiate the assertions of Mr. Roberts, was perhaps more than could have been expected."

The Rev. Edward Roberts has addressed another and final letter on this subject to "*The Morning Advertiser*," from which we extract the principal points. After stating that the transfer of the works from the Bank of England to the English Copper Company, which has just taken place, renders it unnecessary to continue the discussion any longer, Mr. Roberts proceeds :—

"An account appeared in your columns of the presentation to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph of the address which I mentioned in my fourth letter. Your correspondent states that 'thousands of persons assembled.' There are many gentlemen at Cwmavon—Churchmen and Dissenters—who numbered the procession, ready to testify that it did not exceed two hundred. There were another two hundred—and not more—of women and children, and parties watching the proceeding, present, the former being attracted there by the band. So, though orders had been sent through all the works by Edward Bagot, A.M. and I.L.D., assistant-manager of the Cwmavon works, for all to appear to pay due honour to Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph 'at the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, out of all the people, the nations, and the languages,' no more than two hundred obeyed. The procession, headed by Mr. Sauphier and 'Doctor Bagot,' in going to and returning from Mr. Biddulph's house, went a little distance out of the way to the Independent Chapel, and there stopped, by their orders, to give three deriding shouts. The first time this was done, such persons as had any respect for themselves left the procession, declaring they feared the judgment of God would fall upon them. . .

"I can assure the public that such an open contempt was not thrown on religion in the Principality during the last two hundred years; and the whole affair was commanded by the cashier and assistant-manager at Cwmavon, sanctioned by Mr. Biddulph, and tolerated by the Bank of England.

"Flags and banners were hoisted up all day on Sunday before the manager's house, as if an important victory had been won; and the Dissenters had for once the privilege of attending divine services under waving banners,—a privilege which they made no sparing use of as the places of worship were much better attended than usual. The flags were left up till Monday, when they were hurriedly taken down, and the manager and his lady, instead of 'remaining amongst us many years, very many years,' have hurriedly left the place; and Tuesday dawned to witness all Cwmavon, and the neighbouring villages for many miles around, covered with banners, and manifesting indescribable joy at the welcome news of the return of the English Copper Company.

"Griffith Howell, the man who made a flattering speech to the manager, is a drunken puddler, having been refused admission to the Baptist Church in this place because he lived apart from his wife. Poor 'Hopkin Davies, the oldest agent in Cwmavon,' who carried the address on the 'lofty pole,' is well-known at Cwmavon. He would carry me on a lofty pole next Saturday were he only requested to do so.

"It is said that the address was signed by 'upwards of a thousand persons.' How many of those names represent imaginary individuals I will not undertake to say; but it is a fact that four-fifths of those who really signed it knew nothing of its contents. They only authorised their signatures to be put to a declaration that they themselves were not compelled to attend church.

"There are more than two thousand persons employed in all the Cwmavon works, and the population, says the address, itself is 7,000; clergymen, ministers, medical

men, shopkeepers, innkeepers, tailors, and all such tradesmen, swell the number. So it is not alleged that more than one-seventh of the population signed the address, although boys were dragged by their collars to put down their names, and that during three weeks time the united influences of flattery, threats, promises and bribes, were used for the purpose.

"But what became of the 'four hundred' workmen which they admit did not sign the address? 'Four hundred' persons would appear in a court of law rather a formidable phalanx of witnesses to prove that outrages were committed on their rights and liberties.

"The address, after all, is very harmless. It does not dare to deny that all the children of the day and night schools were compelled to attend Church, nor that workmen were threatened with dismissal if they did not send their children to school and to Church. It abuses me, flatters Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph, and ridicules municipal authorities. The persons who signed it deny that any workmen were 'marked out for insult and revenge because they were Dissenters.' If I have not furnished a sufficient number of evidences on this subject, I can produce them to their hearts' content . . . . But I shall not trouble the reader with further testimonies. I have already produced written evidences from individuals whose names and addresses were affixed, in support of all the statements which I made. Several of the parties verified my statements at a public meeting held in the Town Hall, Aberavon, and their own words were taken down by a reporter from the Office of '*The Swansea Herald*' and were published in that paper. I have left scores of scandalous reports unnoticed, but I have not exaggerated a single fact.

"In answer to the address, Mr. Biddulph called 'attention to the rule, that all children have full liberty on the Sunday to go to any school or place of worship their parents may desire on proper application to the teachers.' But why was this rule not brought to light

sooner? Why was it not inserted among the printed rules of the schools? Why did Mr. and Mrs. Biddulph not refer those parties who complained to them on the subject to this rule? Why was it not referred to in Mr. Biddulph's first letter to the governor of the bank, so that the Rev. J. Kennedy might know of its existence? Why was the attention of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers of this place not called to the rule in reply to their petition? And why did Mr. Biddulph not mention it in his letter to '*The Morning Advertiser*'? And since this matter has been for the first time held out as 'the burden of the complaint,' why was this golden rule not hinted at in the address? Why, simply because it was not in existence. It was made, if it ever existed, to be referred to in the above speech, and then, if Providence permitted, to be broken. To issue decrees and recall them is very easy work for absolute monarchy.

"It seems that Mr. Biddulph wishes himself, after all, to be considered a 'strenuous advocate' of 'civil and religious liberty.' Who knows but that he will yet become a Dissenter? I am tolerably well acquainted with Mr. Biddulph's past life, from the time he was first put by his father in the counting-house of Gordon and Biddulph, Old London Street, to the present day; but I am not aware that he was ever considered a strenuous advocate of religious freedom or a bigot till he came to Cwmavon; but the last years, by endeavouring to appear to people at a distance the former, and act the latter, he has become such an extraordinary character that simple-hearted Christians scarcely know what to make of him. The position of a gentleman endeavouring, on one hand, to carry out in appearance the wishes of his superiors, who had declared that they 'would not sanction their agent trampling on the liberties of the artisans of Cwmavon,' and, on the other, to continue a system of intolerance for the purpose of pleasing his lady and a party of sycophants, and on justifying his former

conduct, is not a very enviable one. To attempt such impossibility could not fail being the cause of injury and trouble to many. And the world does not yet know how many at Cwmavon have been sufferers. The two schoolmistresses, since they signed a document which I have published, simply proving the constant attendance of all the Sunday-School children at Church, were harassed to such an extent, that Miss Cook soon was compelled to leave her situation. Miss Habakkuk held her place till she was called to Mr. Biddulph's and requested to sign a document proving that the school children were not beaten for not attending Church. She was given to understand that if she would sign it, her situation was secure, but if not, she must leave. She refused, and instantly she received notice to quit her situation, which she has since done. The schoolmistresses declare that they had to punish as many as thirty children the same Mondays for attending chapels; and that Mrs. Biddulph has taken the cane from their hands to flog them herself, because the mistresses did not inflict the stripes sufficiently heavy. And they say that the schoolmaster informed them that he was ordered, in case the number of children to be punished on Mondays were too many for him, to take two policemen to assist him; and if the children would go to chapel afterwards, to go there and drag them out.

"I am truly thankful that unexpected events have freed me from the necessity of continuing to expose acts of scandal and coercion; but inasmuch as the directors of the Bank of England *seemed to me* to be so destitute of feeling in their hearts, I was resolved to discover whether or not they were more sensitive in their pockets. A delay of another week would have forced me to test the legality of certain proceedings, and lift my feeble voice in another court.

"The Dissenters of Cwmavon are now, however, confident that full liberty of conscience will be granted them, and that all their rights shall be respected.

"The manner in which I announced at first to my church that I would endeavour to do something to remedy the evils they publicly complained of, and the manner in which I left the matter in the hands of the Rev. J. Kennedy, with no other request than 'a word in favour of religious freedom at Cwmavon, from one of the directors of the bank, or a gentleman of influence,' and the manner in which I stopped proceedings till I found that the manager was resolved to give us unmitigated revenge instead of a remedy,—prove that I could have no cause to advocate but liberty of conscience. . . . I am anxious that my letters should not be construed as an attack on the Established Church. Though I am a Dissenter, I know that the Church of England numbers among its members many of the worthies of the earth.

"The letters of 'Veritas' and 'Edward Bagot,' containing neither fact nor argument, deserve neither attention nor reply. The vituperations of hired calumniators can never do me any injury, because they can never tempt me to retort; and inasmuch as they can give me no pain, they can afford them no pleasure.

"Reflection does not induce me to modify any statements which I have made. It may be just to state that the wages of one of the complainants was not reduced according to the notice he received to that effect. Were it in my power to retract justly any charges, I would, under present circumstances, do so far more readily than I advanced them.

"Now I leave this distressing case, trusting I shall never again be obliged to expose deeds so scandalous or perform a duty so painful."

Such incidents have forced the conviction upon Welshmen that it is the policy, if not the function, of a State-aided Church to repress the free formation of religious belief and the manifestation of it. Not one of the four bishops now in power would countenance or

condone such outrageous conduct. What does it mean? It means placing a body of children, and placing their parents, under the alternative of forfeiting, not only temporal advantages, but their rights as human beings, or of denying their conscience. We must admit their right to worship in any manner their conscience dictates, and what is true in the case of the individual is also true in the case of the communities, it is more than a right: it is an imperious necessity of human nature. Bishops may come, and bishops may go, but this individual right of man remains, and will prevail. These considerations naturally lead to the question of religious instruction in our common schools. In primitive times the teacher, we are told, used to teach religion and the Church Catechism, and a nation that calls itself a Christian nation should teach religion in its public schools. But what is religion? To the Episcopalian it means one thing, to the Nonconformist another: and to the Roman Catholic another. Substitute the term "Catholic nation" for the term "Christian nation," and see how the logic stands. We must not confound religion with sectarianism: it would be better to have no religion at all taught in our common schools than to bring it into disesteem by endless controversies about creeds and catechisms. It is not a question of respecting or disrespecting the Bible: no book has ever been held in such high regard by all classes of men; but we have no right to force it, much less our sectarian interpretation of it, upon children in schools maintained by public funds. Then we are asked, "Is it your desire or intention to bring up your children as infidels"? The answer is, "There is no such desire and no such intention." They might as well say, that, because husbandry is not taught in our public schools, it is the intention to

bring up our children lazy. There are a great many things our nation needs that are not taught in our public schools, and it is not their duty to include dogma. The function of the public school is to give the children the impulse to learn, to give them intelligence, to encourage them to seek knowledge as an equipment for manhood. So the country is drifting to this ideal—let the common schools teach intelligence, the Church teach dogma, and the parent personal religion It is certain that if the present strife continues, we shall have to exclude the Bible altogether, and resort to the system of secular education pure and simple. In the opinion of many this would be a calamity, because thousands of children are so situated that they can never hope to get any religious training at home.

The difficulty in education, we are told, would not have arisen but for the action of the Romanising clergy, who, under pretences of giving religious education, are taking the children to hear mass, decoying them into the confessional, training them in Romanish doctrine, and teaching them to regard the clergy as officers of sacrifice and absolvers from sin. The Romanising clergy have used Church of England schools for the purpose of teaching doctrines and practices entirely opposed to the wishes and intentions of the original founders as well as the wishes of the parents. It is not a question as to whether Protestantism is good or bad: but a violation of trust. When a High Church clergyman takes the place of an Evangelical clergyman in any parish or district, his first care seems to be to impress upon the officials of the Church and upon the parishioners how grievously mistaken they are, and how erroneous has been their education in the doctrines and practices of the Holy Catholic Church. They spare no effort to convert their curates,

churchwardens, and members to Anglican Catholicism.

As to the possibility of an "Educational Concordat," there is only on one ground, viz.—that the denominational principles be given an equal place along with the undenominational principles in the matter of religious instruction in elementary schools. Apparently such a concordat is impossible, for while the Churchman demands facilities for denominational instruction of Church children, the Nonconformist insists that no elementary school of any kind, in which religious instruction is given, shall receive a farthing of public money in any shape or form. Both parties claim that their demands is a matter of conscience. Thus conscience continues its remorseless march with unscrupulous masterfulness, undermining friendships, breaking up the peace of communities, creating sects, and establishing denominations, marking its path with distrust, violence, and even blood—making more separations than civil governments.

What is needed at this hour is a spirit of mutual consideration for each other's rights and obligations. The Disestablishment Movement has reached a crisis, and great wisdom and patience are required. It is contended that the Commission in its inception, its composition, and its procedure and reference, has been a blunder, but the failure of Principal Fairbairn, Professor Henry Jones, of Glasgow, and Mr. S. T. Evans, M.P., to agree with the chairman, Justice Vaughan Williams, as to the terms of reference, did not justify them in retiring, for the terms of reference was a matter for the Government rather than for them. Not that I undervalue conviction, for conviction, whether it be religious or political, if one fears to express it, is unworthy of the name. If there be not enough conscience left to urge us to express our own

convictions, what is there to show that our convictions are the fruit of conscience? Nevertheless, the more earnest our convictions, the more we weigh our words and count our actions. True, a principle is a principle, and cannot be moderated. The history of principle is that it exacts all that is due to it. But when we come to consider the method of its expression, and the manner in which it is executed, we enter upon debatable ground. Logic is one thing; practicability is another. It is not difficult to appreciate the feelings of those who believe that the principle of religious equality has languished too long in the condition of a mere idea; and the time is come to give it practical effect. There is, however, a grave reason for suspecting the sincerity of the Government in this matter, and we are not likely to see Disestablishment during the life of this Parliament. Still, it is not the function of the Commission to test the principle of Disestablishment, but to obtain facts; it was designed to be a judicial Commission, and none of its members had a right to introduce into it that party spirit that only tolerates the evidence serviceable to itself, and rejects what does not follow the preconceptions of its own mind. Whether Disestablishment will ever come is problematical. Of this we are sure —that every Government must ultimately represent the living want and judgment of the people. Even Napoleon, with his vast power, had to surrender to public sentiment, not because he believed in the will of the people, but because he loved power, and because he knew that the only condition upon which he could retain power was by making his Government freer and freer. Tocqueville, one of the most far-sighted men of his time, declared that while Democracy was not the best thing in the world, it was inevitable. The spirit of Democracy is spreading over the entire English nation: through

tribulation, through blood and violence, it has been making its way throughout the generations with trumpet in hand. With this democratic spirit the English Church has to reckon. The appeal to the intrinsic excellence of the Church, its antiquity, its beautiful liturgy, its apostolic succession, and the sense of continuity that it gives, falls upon deaf ears in so far as the Social Democrats are concerned. A nightingale might as well have expected to be listened to on a field of battle. Democracy is essentially utilitarian: it judges every institution, not by its age or historical association, but by its utility and elasticity. So, if there is no reformation from within the Church itself, revolution will come from without. Churchmen must also bear in mind that Ecclesiasticism is not so powerful as it once was. In America it is unknown; it is fast dying out in France, and is daily growing less popular in England. What is growing stronger every day is belief in justice, in sympathy, in philanthropy, in truth and self-denial, and in the essential spirit of the Gospel of Jesus. We see it in our legislation, in our jurisprudence, and in our system of education. Side-by-side with a decay of Ecclesiasticism, there is a solid growth in the spirit of brotherhood, and a greater effort for the amelioration of the social condition of the people. The only thing commonly regarded as Divine is the principle of religion; and the worth of every church and of every institution will be judged more and more by these results.

Another concomitant of Welsh sub-nationality is Welsh national unity. By unity I do not mean spiritual or sectarian unity. Such unity is at present unattainable. In no country has the sectarian spirit been more in evidence than in Wales: the various denominations agree in their moral feeling, but we have always had in Wales,

as elsewhere, in the religious sphere, two entirely distinct types of mind: the one valuing ceremony, artistic accessories, and human organisation and intervention; the other deeming itself competent to dispense with what it may consider adventitious aids: the one conceiving that a special power is miraculously transmitted through the sacrament, by ceremonial means, and by imposition of hands; the other thinking that the Holy Spirit is equally accessible to every individual. These two types have regarded each other as being wicked, schismatic, and alienated from God. The hostility between these groups in Wales has always manifested itself, and they have never been able to live together in harmony. The same division prevails among the various sects. Partly from conceit, partly from temperament, and partly from unwise instruction, the various denominations in Wales have for generations been rousing asperities and finding reasons for separations, the predominant element always being the belluine, each sect thinking itself the spiritual navel of the universe. The work of cohesion is not favoured by religion in its sectarian form. This is eminently true of Wales; so much energy and money is required for the upkeep of the various sects, that they have little to spare beyond that, except for a Free Church Council, which is a purely political organisation. Mere material contiguity would not be union, but such is the idea of union in the mind of some, that they think it consists in reading the same prayer-book, singing from the same hymn-book to the same tune at the same time; they seem to forget that growth towards perfection takes place by the law of differentiation, and that the higher we ascend, the more things branch out and diversify. The curse of Dissent has been a failure to recognise that unity can never come through

the understanding—that it is to be found not in creeds, not in methods of church government, but in that divine element that is the foundation of their existence. I do not mean to imply that political patriots in Wales are entirely at peace with each other. Our Welsh Members of Parliament have their squabbles and their jealousies; indeed, they quarrel as much as if they were ministers of the Gospel. But there is greater political and educational unity in Wales to-day than at any other period. What is the highest symbol of this national unity? Is it the Welsh Free Church Council? Is it the Welsh Parliamentary Party? Is it the Eisteddfod? No, not one of them. It is our University system. That is the only real bond of union we have. Our University Colleges are the only institutions that may be truly said to represent the whole of Wales, without destruction of creed, or class, or politics. Throughout our history we have had plenty of vagrant thoughts, which we hid under a bushel for fear of the parson, the squire and the landowner, speaking always in whispers. Those days were days of silent suffering; our fathers had to think of their bread, their children and their homes; but as the Victorian era developed, we saw the ideas of our fathers coming into congruities, combining and crystallising. It was this organised opinion that opened the road to power for the individual ambitions of men like Mr. Thomas E. Ellis and the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George; to them the crown and sceptre have been given; they appeared at the psychological moment; under the escort of public opinion, they came into fame and authority. They were dissimilar in gifts and character. Thomas E. Ellis was a sane Welsh Nationalist—sane even in his enthusiasm. He is referred to as the pioneer of Welsh Nationalism in Parliament. This we think is a mistake. The pioneer

was the late Mr. Henry Richard. He was our first great champion. It was through his instrumentality that Wales got a hearing in Parliament and men in high places were induced to pay serious attention to our claims. His mantle fell upon Thomas E. Ellis, and the succession was as truly apostolic as anything could be. His judgment, grasp of facts, self-restraint, urbanity, insight, patriotic fervour, and the reasonableness of his aims, singled him out as the rising hope of the people, and gave him a place apart among Welsh Parliamentary representatives. No other Welshman dead or living, with the single exception of the late Mr. Henry Richard, was held in such general esteem. Mr. Ellis weighed every question in the balance of justice; he was a patriot, a diplomat, and a gentleman; by his rare gifts, his singleness of purpose, and his graciousness of manner, he made an indelible impression upon all parties. In his death Welsh politics lost that restraining and moderating source that would have been of incalculable benefit in these times of transition and conflict. In the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George we have an example of what might proceed from the people when given the opportunity and the training—a man of splendid talents, not wanting in nerve and adroitness, who has succeeded beyond his own expectations, which means much in the case of a man who has an unusual sense of personal consequence. His audacious hopefulness has been his best resource. Undoubtedly, he is by far the most energetic and vituperative Parliamentary representative Wales has ever had. His ability is unquestioned and unquestionable, and he carries his brain in his tongue. He has the genius for understanding and controlling Welshmen, not always to their advantage, it is true, but always to his own—a typical American

politician, who has succeeded in creating a spirit of dissatisfaction among his people with everything and everybody. He has captivated and formularised the public feeling of his day; he has intoxicated the self-love and imagination of the Welsh; he has even given them a will—a most eminent gift; and has stirred strong personal affection for himself. He has gathered the political forces of his country and brought them to a focus; and he will occupy a distinguished place in the annals of his country. But no politician has so humorously disregarded the predictions of the prophets: starting out in politics as an uncompromising Nationalist, the most complete embodiment of the ambitions of the younger generation of Welshmen embracing the feelings of Nationalism, the leader of a guerilla band, daily increasing in size and influence, waging war against almost every constituted custom and authority, carving his way to the front, bearing the standard of an extremist, the hope and idol of his people. Having done yeoman service to the Liberal Party, he is taken into the Cabinet, and at once changes the bed-rock of his political life, and becomes a practical politician, urging his countrymen to be moderate. Thus, both by implication and attitude, he repudiates his former policy and deserts his people in their distress. He subordinates Welsh Nationalism to a larger statesmanship; with this change of front there comes a serious loss of moral authority over his countrymen, but his general position is greatly improved. As President of the Board of Trade he has done excellent work, and has shown a surprising mastery of the details of his Department. Deputations that have waited upon him have found that they have little to teach and something to learn. His Merchants Shipping Bill and Patents Bill stand to his

credit. They are protective in character, and condemn by implication his extreme Free-Trade orations. These bills are among the most popular acts of his life.

However, his attitude on certain Welsh questions is not the attitude of a pure patriot. Wales may as well do gracefully what ultimately she must do out of necessity —viz., release Mr. Lloyd George from his oath of special allegiance, and surrender him to the larger life of a British statesman upon which he has embarked, and for which he is so eminently qualified. Undoubtedly Mr. Lloyd George *does* love his country dearly, but he loves ambition more. He has notably advanced his own reputation and political prospects, but in his relation to his adopted land, he will go down to posterity as the greatest political opportunist of this generation. Judged by the simple test of common political morality this is the inevitable verdict. Dr. Nichol, the editor of "*The British Weekly*," himself a man of brilliant parts, a sturdy Nonconformist, and a loyal friend of Wales, gives full and frank expression to the general feeling in the columns of "*The British Weekly*" for July 6th, 1907:—

"Wales sent up for the first time an absolutely unanimous Liberal representation. Where is Wales today? What change has come over the scene? What has been done about education? What is the position of the Welsh revolt? What about Disestablishment? Mr. Lloyd George is a supremely clever man, with a quite ecclesiastical turn for manœuvre. He has done brilliantly in his department, but what has he done for Wales? Well, he has given Wales the Welsh Commission, a boon which the Principality is deeply pondering. What was his action about a Welsh Council in the educational discussion? Mr. Lloyd George is detained by mysterious providences from appearing at Nonconformist gatherings nowadays, but he will have to explain

himself to the nation that has so trusted him. If Wales is satisfied, there is no more to say; but is there one Welshman who believes that the present Government will take up Disestablishment? Perhaps it may be thought, on reflection, that Mr. Lloyd George and the Government have nipped rather than gripped the Welsh problem."

In the same connection we quote the weighty and pertinent words of Mr. Ellis J. Griffith, M.P. :—

"It is abundantly clear that the Government have the power to proceed with Welsh Disestablishment if they wish. If they do not proceed with it in this Parliament, it will not be the power but the wish that will be at fault.

"It is said in answer to our demands that the House of Lords blocks the way. But does it? The Government are to introduce Temperance and Education Bills next session; does the House of Lords block the way of these measures? If not, why should Welsh Disestablishment be the only measure in regard to which the House of Lords paralyses all Parliamentary efforts? Irish measures, Scotch measures, Labour measures, are introduced in this Parliament; why should the Welsh question be the only one to be arrested by anticipatory fears of the Upper House?"

These are not arguments for the *merits* of Disestablishment and Disendowment, but they show the utter insincerity of the present Liberal Government respecting this important question. They also show how Wales has suffered, and continues to suffer through her continual adherence to official Liberalism. Would to God some great Welshman appeared to deliver the nation from this body of death. We urge our readers to ponder over the sane and timely words of that able and sturdy Welsh patriot, Mr. J. Arthur Price, London, whose articles on Thomas

Davis, the Irish poet, and Thomas E. Ellis, M.P., are in every respect worthy of himself and the occasion.

Wales is no better off now than if a Unionist Government were in power. Nonconformity in general is *worse* off. Since the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, Nonconformity has not benefited in any way through a Liberal Government. There are in England about 8,000,000 Dissenters, and with a few exceptions they support the Liberal Party; but they have no power, no controlling voice in the inner circle of official Liberalism. Year by year they see the measures upon which they have set their hearts, and for which they have toiled, postponed and set aside. This is the treatment meted out to the most important and strenuous element in modern Liberalism. It was the same when Mr. Gladstone told Mr. Edward Miall to take the vote and support of his Nonconformist allies wherever he liked, and when, in 1884 he thrust Home Rule upon an unwilling party and an unprepared country, thus relegating the question of religious equality to the dim and distant future. As it was in the beginning, so it is now: the whole weight of the legislative failure of our Liberal Government during the first eighteen months of its existence has fallen wholly and solely on Nonconformity. Free Churchmen had for years protested against the injustice of the Education Act of 1902. In order to rid themselves of it, they made a supreme effort to place the Liberal Party in power with the distinct understanding that one of the first endeavours of the Government would be to redress the wrong; but the wrong, and all the other wrongs from which Free Churchmen say they suffer, still remain unredressed. The apologists of the Government claim that their failure is due to the House of Lords; but there are wide areas of our educational system beyond

the reach of the Lords. The Government has absolute jurisdiction in the region of finance and administration; still it does nothing, attempts nothing. And what has become of the Bill for the relief of Passive Resisters? Nonconformity is asking the question with increasing earnestness; but there is no response. The golden moment of decision has come and gone. The force that lit Liberalism to its triumph at the last election is already extinguished. No serious effort has been made to satisfy the forces that placed the Government in office. Official Liberalism seems stronger than justice,—yes, stronger than conscience. Welsh Disestablishment has now been relegated to the dim and distant future. The Prime Minister officially informed the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Ellis J. Griffith, that he could not hold out any definite hope. So it seems that the chairman of the Welsh Party and others had no authority for the statements they have repeatedly made; if they had, they have been deceived. The position is not only disappointing and discouraging to those who have pinned their faith to the present Government in relation to Disestablishment and Disendowment, but it is an insult. To seek to blind and cajole the people by blaming the House of Lords, shows what little respect the Government and the official Liberal Press have for the intelligence of the people. It is their estimate of the Welsh political character. It is sad, but true; as it was in Mr. Gladstone's time, so it is to-day. Welshmen are the slaves of official Liberalism. The greater their disappointment, the more submissive they become. It is futile to look for any light or guidance from the Welsh Party in Parliament. The majority of them are so imbued with the official spirit, and have so many other expectations, that they are hopeless; they have no

ideal, no policy, and no organisation. True, they have a chairman and a whip; but it signifies absolutely nothing: they are only ornamental figureheads without initiative and without power. The chairman appears before the House and the Government as a supplicant, almost begging the Prime Minister not to forget that there is such a question as Disestablishment. But there is force in what Sir Henry Fowler is alleged to have said, "I do not want to see Disestablishment and Disendowment, for I belong to a pretty well-endowed Church myself. It would be a bad precedent." Considered individually, the Welsh Party in Parliament contains some excellent men, but as a party how little do they count, and how infinitesimal their influence in the administrative affairs of the country at large. They teach the nation less than the nation teaches them: instead of giving the lead, they get it from the people; and yet, they seem immovable. They are Liberals first, and Welshmen second. When a Cabinet Minister like Mr. Lloyd George continues to attend the meetings of the Welsh Parliamentary Party, firm independent action on vital questions is impossible. Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., the senior Member for Merthyr Tydvil, is an ardent Welsh patriot—a man with a judicial mind, possessed of courage and independence. He deserves to be heard. This is what he said at the annual meeting of the Free Church Council at Cardiff at the beginning of the year:—"I was out of the party for some years, but recently returned to it in the hope of making it more efficient than it was. But so far from being an efficient organisation, it is not taken seriously by the Government, by the House of Commons, or by the Welsh Members who compose the party. During the last twelve months three matters of great national

interest to Wales were brought forward by the Government; but not on one of the three were the Welsh Party even consulted, or asked to express an opinion. Religious equality has been a burning question in Wales for more than a generation: surely, therefore, the question of the appointment of the Church Commission was one which should be referred to the Welsh Party; but it was not consulted. The Members were not consulted on the question of the Welsh National Council of Education, or when the new Education Department was established in substitution for that. It was not a party in the real and true sense of the word. It was nothing but an integral part of the Liberal Party. I do not believe we shall ever get a Welsh Parliamentary Party composed of men to act independently as occasion might arise: we shall never get an independent party unless it is formed on the lines of the Irish Party or the Independent Labour Party; but that we shall never get in the case of the Welsh Members. When the Government likes, it can always split up the Welsh Parliamentary Party. Let the people take my note of warning, and not rely on the Welsh Party, but upon themselves and their own strong arm."

But the Welsh Parliamentary Party is what the people permit it to be: it is only now, when the Labour Party is coming into power, that the constituencies show any disposition to question the actions of their Members in Parliament. A Welsh Nonconformist minister goes to the House of Commons, sends his card to a certain Member, and when that Member at last makes his appearance, the minister takes off his hat, and the Member accepts the compliment with the greatest complacency. A Roman Catholic priest comes next, and sends in his card to some Irish

Member; in a few moments that Member appears, and takes off his hat to the priest. Such is the difference, and such is the servility of the Welshman. Though a Radical at heart, he dearly loves a lord; how tamely he submits year after year to the postponement of his nation's highest hopes, while the Irish Members absorb all the time and all the attention. There is only one way by which the Welsh Members can make any impression upon the House and upon the English constituency; that is, to form an independent party, pledged not to accept office, to make themselves a nuisance, and address public gatherings in Hyde Park and in our large industrial centres. The Welsh have admired too much and too long—they have sent so many great men to Parliament that they really have none left. It is time they should give up admiring and come to believe in one necessity—a properly constituted independent party. Some barbarous natives once in a while gather their gods together, and give them a good beating for the purpose of stirring up a spirit of general activity among them. Something analogous ought to be done with our Welsh Members of Parliament, so that we may discover what virtue, if any, is left in them. The Right Hon. D. Lloyd George cannot perceive in the Independent Labour Movement in South Wales any menace to Welsh Nationalism. But he who lives the longest sees the most. He bases his opinion on the assumption that no candidate that is not a good Nationalist could be acceptable to the Welsh miner. But what is a good Nationalist? From Mr. Lloyd George's point of view, he is a man who will not press his individual convictions in such a manner as to inconvenience a Liberal Government. He is good to the degree that he submits to the necessity of the

official hour. But such was the policy of the revolt movement, which was such a blunder and which proved so disastrous. The esteemed Member for Merthyr Tydfil and Mr. Ellis Griffith deserve well of their country for their manly insistence upon the rights of the individual Member—rights of judgment and of expression.

What is the bearing of Welsh sub-nationality upon the question of imperialism? The imperial idea, we are told, is the product of an age which has lost its insight, its faith, its calm and its reflective quality. It is essentially a material idea. Extended empire means less of true culture and more mechanism; less of deep life and more shallow existence; it gives less time for thought and domestic improvement. Its controlling passion is vindictiveness; it is a vain-glorious assumption that a single nation has absorbed all the virtues, and that all other nations consist of "*hostes*," as the Romans called them. Its impulse is aggressive, and disregards the obligation which stronger nations owe to weaker ones. But imperialism, which is only another name for patriotism, is not an aggressive impulse; on the contrary, it is the impulse of preservation, it is also a desire that our country should be greatly looked up to as the founder and sustainer of virtuous civilisation in all lands. Imperialism, instead of obliterating, actually quickens the reverence due to total humanity.

Welsh Nationality is not necessarily incompatible with that catholicism which accepts the doctrine of the sovereignty of the entire nation. British sovereignty is supreme. It is maintained by bonds of blood, of moral ideas, of religion, and of commerce. So widespread is the empire, that it contains within itself almost all the elements of commercial and social prosperity.

Self-interest demands that these forces should be drawn together into indissoluble unity. The colonies are practically unanimous: the difficulty is at home and with the Liberals, but facts and forces are against us. There is a civilisation that comes by commerce, a civilisation that comes by intelligence through the instrumentality of schools and interchange of thought; there is also a civilisation that comes by conscience and love. The claims of the first are for the moment more imperious, for the reason that human nature is riper and wiser at the bottom than at the top. However, the higher claim is coming to the front and is coming with the power of sympathy and of co-operative harmony between the various sections of the empire. But the sovereignty of the nation as a unit is a limited sovereignty—limited by the claims of justice, of blood, of language, of religion, of political unity and common consciousness; and, above all, unity of sentiment. The essence of good statesmanship consists in a wise administrative adaptation to the peculiar characteristics and aspirations of all the component parts. This is not disintegration, but the secret of true stability. What breeds disintegration is the arrogance of the one which ignores and depreciates the claims and virtues of the other. It is here the germinant republic of Wales stands. She claims that the apparatus of civil government should be better adapted to the needs of the country, that her sons and daughters should enjoy a more equitable opportunity. But the demand for a larger measure of self-government is one thing, fitness for self-government is another: the first and most important condition, psychologically stated, is that men should be capable of self-restraint. The desire is not sufficient: it may be sufficient for poems and romances.

The granting of self-government to an unrestrained people easily fired in their passion, and animated solely by a spirit of avenging justice, ready to follow this or that ambitious leader, will not make them free. The machinery of civil government cannot give self-restraint, loyalty and prudence. The measure of self-government given to a certain people must be determined more by their ideals, disposition, history, and their general elements, than by the importation of forms, customs, and machinery. These psychological requisites cannot be forced into a people any more than we can force knowledge into a man. Herein lies the difficulty of the Irish demand for a larger system of civil policy, of jurisdiction, of legislation, and of general government. It is not a question of desire, but of fitness and expediency. The Irish people are still the same. Time and change make no difference. The Welsh people, on the contrary, are loyal and self-restrained. They possess the spirit of gratitude: they have justified the confidence reposed in them by all past Governments; they have used what power they have had for self-culture and the good of the community. They have reached a high state of manhood. Wales has been kept outside the sphere of government too long: she is now asking for a larger measure of autonomy; she is striving to bring our administration more in touch with native opinion. She is qualified for it, for she has been educated in the manner of free countries, and her education to-day is not only more general, but more intelligent. Welsh life in general stands on a strong moral foundation: it stands for religion, for peace, for education, and for the enlightenment of her population. In Wales there is the tradition, the unity, the modes of thought, and the loyalty which are essential in a self-governing people. Wales

has more than justified the confidence reposed in her by past Governments, both Tory and Liberal. Agitations and discontent there have been; but our public men seldom crossed the line, or incited breaches of the peace. The evolution of Welsh national life has been characterised by patience and reason. Wales has made good her claim to be treated as a unit in the national life, just as Scotland is treated, and surely just as Ireland is treated. Whether the life of the Welsh race will ever run out, and whether the people will attain so much as they sanguinely believe they will, are matters for discussion and outside the province of this work; but there appears before the Welsh as a race a career of usefulness, not only in the sphere of religion, which is its primary place, but in the various elements of intellectual life. For this, and other reasons it deserves to live, and to be recognised.

Supplied by] [*Spurrell & Son, Carmarthen.*

THE RIGHT REV. CONNOP THIRLWALL, D.D.
(Lord Bishop of St. David's, 1840—1874).

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LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

Born February 11, 1797; *Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,* 1818; *called to the Bar,* 1825; *ordained,* 1827; *Rector of Kirby Underdale,* 1835—1840; *Bishop of St. David's,* 1840—1874; *died July* 27, 1875.

By Rev. J. D. JAMES, B.D.,

Vicar of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath.

BISHOP THIRLWALL was the last and greatest of the long succession of English Bishops in St. David's, and his name added lustre to the See. Scholar, historian, theologian, not only was he intellectually a giant, but in him, as in his contemporary, Bishop Ollivant, at Llandaff, the Church found a painstaking, conscientious and high-minded administrator.

One thing must be said in favour of the appointments that were made to St. David's as compared with the neighbouring diocese of Llandaff. In the long list of the Bishops of Llandaff, mostly pluralists and absentees, who only qualified by a short tenure of office for promotion to other Sees, the names are those of undistinguished men. In St. David's, on the other hand, the system (vicious as it was) seems to have given many illustrious persons to the service of the Church in Wales—the saintly Laud, whose aims and motives have been sorely misunderstood; Bishop Bull, who received through Bossuet the unique distinction of the thanks of the whole Gallican Church, for his able defence of the Nicene Creed; Bishop Horsley, whose sermons and treatises remain still valuable

monuments of learning; Bishop Burgess, the founder of St. David's College, and the promoter of a Church revival in Wales; and not least Thirlwall, who was acknowledged to be the foremost scholar of his day in Europe.

The question asked in many a secluded parish in the diocese of St. David's in 1840, was—Had the time come under the rule of the young Queen, when political bias would no longer influence those in authority, and one who spoke the language and could appeal with Celtic fire to the hearts of his fellow-countrymen would sit in the chair of Saint David? There were two or three Welshmen who would have been welcomed by the Welsh clergy and the common people. But it was not to be. The new Bishop had never been heard of in Wales, and came from a Yorkshire rectory. It is supposed that on his mother's side whatever Welsh blood is to be found in Radnorshire (in the neighbourhood of Presteign) flowed in his veins; but the language was unknown to him, and the selection was made with complete indifference to the needs of a Welsh-speaking diocese. There was nothing left for clergy and people to do but to submit. Long had they been hewers of wood and drawers of water; and once more the evil system was perpetuated which alone has justified the charge of "alienism" as applied to the most ancient and most truly national institution we possess in Wales.

Connop Thirlwall was educated with Grote and Julius Hare at the Charterhouse, elected to a Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and in 1825 called to the Bar. He relinquished the legal profession, and was ordained deacon in 1827 and priest in 1828. From 1835 to 1840 he was Rector of Kirby Underdale, in Yorkshire, and gave to the world a part of his "History of Greece," which was soon destined to be eclipsed (as he generously acknowledged it deserved) the more useful production of his

schoolfellow and friend Grote, whose grave he shares in Westminster Abbey. In 1840 he was called by the Prime Minister to leave his quiet rectory and rural parish, in which he used to spend sixteen hours each day in study. He resolved to reside in his new diocese, and to devote his great powers to the advancement of the Church in that extensive sphere, which comprised the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke, Brecon and Radnor, together with the portion of Glamorgan which includes the great town and seaport of Swansea.

At this time the Church in Wales was at a low ebb, and had not as yet been touched by the spirit of the Catholic Revival which was destined to work such changes throughout the length and breadth of the land. Its precursor, the Evangelical Revival, of which it was in truth the complement, had influenced many individuals among the clergy and inspired them with new zeal and love of souls; but its influence within the Church in Wales had evaporated in coldness, division, and weakness. The religiously inclined had left the fold, and made a home for themselves in the chapels which since the Methodist secession of 1811 had been erected in every village and hamlet in Wales.

In 1840, the foundation of Bishop Burgess—St. David's College, Lampeter—had only just begun to influence the culture and devotion of the mass of the clergy. Schools had not yet been erected in very many parishes, and it would be difficult to estimate the number of illiterate persons in the diocese of St. David's at this time. As late as 1847, the report of a Commission, which stirred up intense bitterness in Wales and is known to this day as "Brad y Llyfrau Gleision," showed that out of a population of 1,045,958 in Wales and Monmouthshire, only 80,361 children attended school.

The people had been alienated by the unsympathetic policy of the Hanoverian Bishops, and the laxity of the clergy—a thrice-told tale on which we need not dwell. Bishop Burgess had begun a good work, and had not been indifferent to such institutions as the Eisteddfod, and had been a patron of Welsh literature. He had been succeeded by Bishop Jenkinson, who does not seem to have exercised any marked influence.

Bishop Thirlwall appeared on the scene. An accomplished linguist, he decided to fit himself for his task by learning the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of his bilingual diocese. In a remarkably short time he preached in the Welsh language, and later a volume of his sermons in good and fairly idiomatic Welsh was published. To acquire the language was one thing, but to understand the people was quite another. Perhaps unjustly, one of his predecessors was accused of having driven Daniel Rowland, of Llangeitho, out of the Church. A trace of the same coldness betrayed itself in the Bishop's first Charge. He expressed his disapproval of the meetings held by certain Evangelical clergymen at which two sermons in succession were preached at the same gathering, of extempore prayer, and of Sunday services in schools without the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

It is impossible to think of Bishop Thirlwall as adapted to be a " father in God " to the rural clergy or the mass of the laity of his backward diocese. A keen controversialist, who could scarcely curb his innate power of sarcasm and irony, was not likely to captivate the hearts of his emotional flock. While still a barrister in 1825, he had been the first to reveal to the English public the character of modern German Theology in a translation of Schleiermacher's "Essay on St. Luke's Gospel," with an introduction by the translator. A liberal, or latitudinarian in his

religious views, he would not be in sympathy with a nation whose hearts were stirred by appeals to the theology of the Cross and the Atonement. The Celts respond in other lands (and once it was so in Wales) to the mysteries of the Catholic Faith and the Sacraments. But such teaching as the Bishop seems to have inwardly approved, for instance, on the Holy Eucharist, was of another kind. "In the Eucharist," he writes in a letter signed "Senex Anglicanus" in *The Times* of July 26, 1874—"no one from the time of its institution can have eaten or drunk that Body or that Blood in any but a spiritual sense. In such a sense the words of institution are no doubt as true now as ever. But they afford not the slightest support to the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Roman, Lutheran, or Tractarian form. So interpreted, they are wholly inconsistent with the idea of a local presence on a material altar, which is common, and alike essential in all those forms: and the scenic decorations of the Sacrament, lights, vestments, and ornaments of the altar, so far as they are significant of doctrine, become manifestly unmeaning, incongruous and misplaced, and the dispute about the position of the celebrant a mere waste of breath."

His character seems to have lacked that element of spiritual idealism which instinctively appeals to the Celtic nature. His legal training, his intellectual sanity, and characteristic level-headedness in some ways set up a barrier between him and a nation whose revivalistic fervour and poetic and musical genius are often stronger than their common sense.

In his pastoral relations with his clergy there was also said to be a desire to bring the interview to a speedy conclusion. The Bishop was immersed in his books which overflowed to every corner of the palace, and loved best

his library, to which he laughingly gave the title of "Chaos." Bishops had not yet learned to stoop to be at the call of the whole diocese. The tradition of aloofness and dignity was not broken, and the charge of Πολυπραγμοσύνη could not be levelled at the heads of the bishops or clergy. The visits were few and chiefly for the purpose of a Confirmation or the re-opening of a restored church—a function which was by no means infrequent during Bishop Thirlwall's episcopate.

But it must not be supposed that the Bishop was devoid of friendliness, sympathy and affection. The long series of letters written to a young friend, the daughter of a well-known family (Dolau Cothi) in the diocese, and edited by his friend Dean Stanley, witness to his wide sympathies and interests. In these he discusses not only the lighter literature of the day, of which he was a constant reader, but also the folk-lore and customs of Wales, the origin and meaning of words, the passing events of the times, and frequent allusions are made to his domestic pets and animals—especially the cats and geese—in which he delighted. His haymaking at Abergwili was a cause of yearly solicitude, to which frequent allusions are made in these letters.

However, the influence of Bishop Thirlwall was far from being confined to his rural diocese. The confusion and unsettlement of the times in which he lived called for a man of his clear intellect and judicial mind to cut through the entanglements of the controversies of the day. Dean Stanley has claimed for him the epithet specially reserved in the Church for the "judicious Hooker"—in the sense of a judgelike person, who severely weighs in the balances of truth and justice the arguments of opposing factions. This epithet exactly hits off the character of the Bishop's most important speeches and his weighty and voluminous

Charges which used to take about four hours to deliver. His legal training had given him great aptitude for this kind of work; and as we read them, we are forced often to think that the Courts lost a great ornament when Thirlwall made up his mind to devote his life to the sacred ministry of the Church. We are as often startled by the admissions which he makes in favour of those with whom he disagreed, as by the strictly logical conclusions which are contained in his summing up of any question. The cold and dispassionate neutrality of an impartial judge often makes it difficult to discover what his own opinions were.

His first entrance on the arena of public controversy was in 1834, while he was Assistant Tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge. The occasion is very characteristic of Thirlwall, except it may be in the lack of that caution which he developed in later life. A Bill in favour of the admission of Dissenters to Academical Degrees was introduced in the House of Commons. Dr. Turton, Regius Professor of Divinity, wrote a pamphlet against the proposal. Thirlwall, who had signed a petition in favour of the Bill, wrote a reply to Dr. Turton. In this reply he made certain, almost contemptuous, statements concerning the College Chapel services, the lectures in theology, and the moral discipline, which seemed so serious to Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, that he immediately asked Thirlwall to resign his tutorship. Thirlwall at once resigned, and thus ended his connection with the College until he was elected an Honorary Fellow in 1867. In justice to Dr. Wordsworth it ought to be remembered that it was not on account of his Liberal views that he called for the assistant tutor's resignation, but on account of his publicly avowed opinions concerning compulsory attendance at the Chapel services and

theological lectures. We refer to this forgotten controversy because it shows thus early the bent of Thirlwall's mind.

Lord Brougham regarded him as one of those " who had deserved well of the Whig Party in the Church," and most opportunely after the loss of his tutorship presented him to the rich living of Kirby Underdale, where the next five years were spent quietly in pastoral work, and in the writing of a considerable portion of his " History of Greece "—his last literary production.

In July, 1840, came the unexpected letter of Lord Melbourne containing an offer of the Bishopric of St. David's. Thirlwall was away from home on a five weeks' ramble, and was found with great difficulty in a village inn. Lord Melbourne had been for some time attracted by the edition of Schleiermacher's "Essay," and had consulted the Primate concerning its orthodoxy. Satisfied on that point, the Prime Minister passed over all those whose claims had been pressed upon him, and offered the vacant Bishopric to one who had no ambitious thoughts in his mind.

On Sunday, December 6, 1840—within six months of his appointment—the Bishop read the service and administered the Holy Communion in the Welsh language. We find that he was a determined opponent of the proposed union of the two North Wales Bishoprics on the creation of the See of Manchester. He described the proposal as " utterly unnecessary, impolitic, unjust, and pernicious," and he bases his opposition on grounds which still appeal to a Welshman's patriotism, and also on higher grounds which reveal his firm grasp of the true nature of episcopal oversight. Though opposed to this scheme of suppression, in his lifetime he argued against an increase of the Episcopate, and wished that a Bishop

might delegate his authority without an Episcopal consecration of his delegate—a strange idea characteristic of him whereby an Archdeacon could take a Confirmation and even *ordain*.

Henceforth, his Charges and Speeches become the chief means which he used to give expression to his weighty opinions. and to pronounce judgment on the religious, political, and educational controversies of the day.

He was always a *champion of liberty and justice*. In 1845 he supported the Grant to Maynooth as the reversal of a mischievous policy. In the discussion on the removal of the disabilities of the Jews he stood forth fearlessly on the side of freedom. His speech in the House of Lords on May 25, 1848, is a good example of his method in exposing arguments which, to his clear insight, appeared a " tissue of sophisms and fallacies." Was it asserted that this measure of a remedial character would unchristianise the Legislature ? The Legislature, he replies, will remain Christian exactly in the same sense, and precisely in the same proportion, as the country itself was Christian. Was the nation exposing itself to the Divine displeasure by a mark of respect for a people whom one noble earl would consider as only fit to remain as a monument of Divine wrath ? If there was any reason to dread the Divine vengeance, he replies, it would be rather on account of the crimes of which the nation was guilty towards the ancestors of this people. With the greatest deference he dissents from Dr. Arnold's view that the Jew is essentially an alien, and has no more right than a lodger in a house to be concerned in the management of the State. He attributes Dr. Arnold's views to his extreme opinions and favourite theory of the identity of Church and State. He concludes with the observation that the argument

from nationality reduces itself to the question of religion; and it interests us to notice that he bases his conclusions on his knowledge of Wales. "Take away," he says, "the religious difference, and there would be no more reason for treating the Jews as aliens than any of the other races which compose the elements of our mixed population. The people among whom I habitually reside is separated from us by as great a difference, and one not only of blood, but of language; and in both respects feels itself to be more closely connected with its brethren on the other side of the Channel, than with its fellow-citizens to the East of Offa's Dyke. But this has not prevented them from being admitted to share all the benefits of the British Constitution *and, I believe, that nowhere in the kingdom are there to be found more loyal subjects.*"

In 1869 he was the only prelate who supported the second reading of the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, and it is supposed that his speech had great influence on the success of the Bill. It was on this occasion that the Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) declared him to be "one of the most masculine, powerful, and luminous intellects that have for generations been known among the Bishops of England." He explained his views with his usual lucidity. He did not agree with the details of the Bill. He considered it necessary that the Irish Church should cease to be *the* Established Church, but not that it should cease to be *an* Established Church. He was of opinion that it ought not to engross all the provision made for religion in Ireland, but at the same time that it ought not to be totally disendowed. He had no faith in the voluntary system. He compared it to the launching of a boat on a troubled sea without any provision for the voyage.

Yet he would not abstain from voting. He thought

of the doom assigned by Dante to that "*Setta dei cattivi*" who adopted a selfish neutrality on momentous occasions. He touches on such expressions as "sacrilege" and "robbery of God" as applied to Disendowment, and designated them as being as irrelevant and misapplied as they were irritating and offensive. Yet it cannot be said that his argument is as convincing under this head as it is elsewhere. He makes use of an event in the life of Saint Ambrose as an illustration of the way a similar charge had been made by the Arians. Saint Ambrose had sold the sacred vessels of the Church of Milan in order that he might ransom prisoners who had fallen into the hands of the Goths. "It implies," says the Bishop, "that in the opinion of one who was undoubtedly a sincere Christian, and not at all a Low Churchman, circumstances might arise in which Church property, even while it continued to be capable of serving its original purpose, might be rightly and fitly diverted to another and wholly different use." But we may be allowed to ask whether the cases are at all parallel. The ransoming of slaves was a Christian duty, and the occasion was urgent. The sale of the sacred vessels would not cause the worship of God in Milan to be suspended, or bring about any intermission of the central act of Christian worship in the Holy Communion, in a single church. But Bishop Thirlwall himself and all who have studied the sad story of the Church in St. David's and Llandaff have acknowledged that all the evils from the Reformation downwards—*e.g.*, pluralities, non-residence, insufficiency of clergy, lack of learning, etc., were due to the extreme poverty of the Church caused by the disendowment in the days of Henry VIII. What is the sale of the sacred vessels compared with the devastating results of the more or less complete alienation of the property of the Church in scores

of remote parishes whether in Ireland or in Wales?

But to return—others, in the course of the debate, had expressed the opinion that Disestablishment would tend to strengthen the power of the Pope, who was already all-powerful in Ireland. On this question the Bishop felt most strongly, as on all occasions he showed the strongest aversion to Romanism. But it seemed to him that there were Protestants who believed in the Pope, while they hated and feared him. The bishop neither hated nor feared him, but he utterly disbelieved in him. He questioned the wisdom of holding up the Pope as a scare-crow. A scarecrow was most effective at first, but in course of time it was often found that the birds it was meant to frighten learned to perch on its shoulders, and even to build theirnests in its hat. But the case of Ireland was unique. In Austria, Italy and Spain the powerqof the Pope was in a condition of rapid decline. Not so in Ireland where, side by side with the exceptional pre-eminence of the Papacy, was found another exceptional phenomenon, the Established Church of Ireland. "I must say," he adds, "that when I see these singular phenomena in such close juxta-position I cannot think it an unfair or unreasonable conclusion to draw that they stand to one another in the relation of cause and effect." He proceeds to express the hope that the *effect* may not very long survive the extinction of the *cause:* that the Irish peasant may recover his rightful freedom of thought and action, and become accessible to the pure light of the Gospel, and that the Irish Church might find itself for the first time standing on a really broad and firm basis of popular sympathy and affection.

After the lapse of nearly four decades, we know that Disestablishment has not in any respect diminished the devout loyalty of the Irish peasant to the Roman Catholic

Church. The falsification of these pious hopes is surely a warning to others who take upon themselves in these days the office of a prophet. He agreed with John Keble that the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland was manifestly just, and rejoiced that the synodal assemblies of the Church would be restored, not merely for discussion, but for deliberation. He mourned that so much learning and eloquence, so much laborious research, so many instructive reports were allowed to come to nothing in the English Convocation for the want of legislative power. But he had no desire to buy such freedom for the Church in England or in Wales at the cost of Disestablishment and Disendowment. In his Charges he emphatically dissents from those who among his own brethren considered that this liberty of self-government was so desirable that it outweighed the advantages of Establishment, which without it were in their eyes but gilded fetters, the price of a degrading bondage. Nor did he admit that Disestablishment in Ireland would tend to pave the way for a similar measure in England or in Wales. The English mind, he argued, shrinks with dislike and suspicion from carrying out a precedent to its logical conclusion. Above all, the two cases were entirely distinct. In Wales there was no such body as the Church of Wales—it was an integral part of the Church of England. The geographical and political circumstances were entirely different. There was no physical partition like the English Channel between England and Wales: there was no racial antipathy amounting to a demand for complete independence; and, more important still, Welsh Nonconformity was recent in its origin, and "*arose for the most part within the Church itself, through the exertions of clergymen, intended by them not to create a schism, but to infuse new life into the ministrations of the Church, and thus increase its influence*

and strengthen its foundations." The Bishop contrasts this crevice caused (as it were) by a summer heat with the chasm opened by an earthquake into the depths of the rocks, which represented to his view the difference between Protestant and Roman Catholic in Ireland. He strenuously opposed the idea that Disestablishment in Ireland would ultimately tend towards the Disestablishment of the Church in England or Wales. It was the danger from within which seemed to him most immediately to threaten the Church If the Church were disestablished and her endowments taken away, he would not despair; there would be some advantages in the way of greater freedom and self-government, and the loss might be overruled for the good of the Church. But there were certain ulterior consequences which seemed to him inevitable, *viz.*—the disruption of the Church into two or three sects. "There would be diverse Anglican Churches, but no longer a Church of England." This fear was probably due to his extreme dislike of certain phases of Ritualism. In Dr. Pusey he seems to have had no trust or confidence. With all his caution and moderation there is no disguising the fact that he was hopelessly out of sympathy with the Oxford Movement, and that he feared the triumph of its principles far more than any loss of prestige or possessions. It was once asserted that his words were the last straw which drove Newman into the Roman fold. Newman himself, it appears, absolved him from this charge, and the Bishop took great pains to prove that the only references he made in an early Charge to Newman and his friends were, on the whole, in their favour, and that later references were not made until after Newman had severed his connection with the Church of England. But, be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Catholic revival caused the gravest anxiety to the

Bishop; largely, perhaps, because its work, ideals, and modes of thought were alien to his mind. Few would now endorse his opinion that disruption would follow the greater liberty which no doubt the Church would enjoy by her separation from the State. It is a curious commentary on these fears and misgivings that his successor (Dr. Basil Jones), without being in any sense a partisan of the Oxford Movement, attributes in his primary Charge (1877) the vast progress made in the diocese during the previous thirty years in the erection, repair and decoration of churches, and in greater care and reverence in worship, to the influence of the Oxford Movement.

Throughout his Episcopate of thirty-four years, Bishop Thirlwall took a keen interest in educational matters. He did his part in the promotion of Higher Education. As visitor of St. David's College, Lampeter, he watched carefully over the fortunes of the College where so many of his own clergy were prepared for their work. He preached the sermon at the laying of the foundation stone of the Welsh Educational Institute—now better known as Llandovery College—on December 13th, 1849. During his Episcopate (in 1853) Christ College, Brecon, was reconstructed as an educational establishment with an endowment out of the funds of the dissolved Collegiate Church. Out of the same funds, in 1865, the insufficient income of St. David's College, Lampeter, was increased by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The privilege of granting a degree was conferred on the College in 1852 by Royal Charter. But the Bishop's most valuable services were devoted to the education of the people. He refers with evident satisfaction in his Charge (1848) to the special fund for the promotion of education in Wales and especially to the erection of the Training College at Carmarthen. "We may reasonably hope,"

he writes, " that the opening of the Training College will prove the beginning of a new and happier era for our National Schools." From his first advent to the diocese he advocated that attention should be paid to the qualification of the teachers. Perhaps we may regard his foundation of the Training College as his greatest contribution to the cause of education.

The schools were the objects of his constant care and solicitude, and owed much to his unfailing generosity as well as his wise counsels and enlightened and liberal policy. He urged, in 1842, that Welsh children should be instructed in their own language. " An opinion," he says, " seems to have prevailed that it is useless, or even inexpedient where English is not the mother tongue of the people, to teach them to read their own language. I am convinced that this maxim is quite erroneous, and attended with many practical consequences, injurious both to the people and the Church. I believe the ordinary effect to be that they acquire but a very imperfect command of either language. It seems, therefore, highly desirable that in all such cases both languages should be taught together, and there can be little doubt that this practice would be attended with a more rapid progress in each." This sound advice was in accord with his determination to learn the language of the people, and also with his policy in preventing " the wealthy English " from dispersing the Welsh congregations. He gives an instance in a letter to Archdeacon Clark in 1872, which is probably typical of many others. " A few weeks back an Englishman, residing at St. Dogmael's, complained that he could not get a clergyman to perform a service for his benefit and that of a few coast-guards and other English residents, the place being within a short and pleasant walk of Cardigan, where there is an English service. The effect of

doing what he desired would have been to disperse the Welsh congregation: but about this the wealthy English never seem to feel the smallest scruple." *O si sic omnes!* Neither in his diocesan administration nor in his educational policy was the Bishop forgetful of a right use of the language of the people.

Possibly also he had already, in 1842, taken notice of the musical talent of the people committed to his charge. He urged that vocal music should be an important part of popular education, and ability to teach it an "indispensable qualification of a schoolmaster for the poor."

Ardent as he was in the advocacy of education, he could not conceive an education worthy of the name without a religious basis. "The interest you take in this branch of your pastoral duties," he tells his clergy in 1851, "may be almost regarded as the measure of your concern for the success of your ministry: for if this is neglected, all appearance of success must be transient and delusive." He looked on this instruction as the necessary preparation for the rite of Confirmation, on which he frequently laid much stress, and expressed his fears that preparation did not begin early enough. To ensure the efficiency of the religious instruction, he used his best efforts to secure a system of diocesan inspection, and was in the end successful. To him education meant not a stock of general knowledge: this he regarded as a point of secondary importance, but in his view the main object was that children should understand their Creed in an intelligent manner, and be able to apply its teaching in the foundation of such habits and principles as would affect their character and conduct throughout life.

He closely watched every step taken towards the advancement of national education during the thirty years previous to the passing of the Education Act in 1870.

In his review he severely criticises both sides without any prejudice or partiality. For instance, in 1866, he exposes with an unsparing hand the fallacies which served for arguments against the adoption of a Conscience Clause among certain members of his own Church. It seems scarcely credible to us that such a reasonable solution of a great difficulty should have been so violently denounced by Archdeacon Denison and others, and condemned by a vote of the Lower House of Convocation. The Bishop finds no difficulty in showing the weakness of the objectors' arguments. He lays down two principles which might with great advantage be emphasised anew in our own day :—1. *That every child in a parish has an equal right to share in the benefits of education, for which provision is made out of public money.* 2. *That every parent—not labouring under legal disability—has a right to regulate the religious education of his children according to his own views.* We may be permitted to ask whether the solution ot our difficulties in the present day is not to be found in the fullest recognition of the *rights of the parents* of the children.

We shall not pursue his arguments any further. But there is one instance in this discussion of his cutting sarcasm which is too good to be lost. Archdeacon Denison had argued in his speech in Convocation that all manner of education should be " interpenetrated with a definite objective and dogmatic faith,' and that " the thread of religion should run through the whole, from one end to the other." How, asks the Bishop, is a sum in the Rule of Three to be " interpenetrated " with a definite, objective and dogmatic faith ? It might seem hard, but he was afraid that it had been thought possible, and that excellent persons had believed that they had accomplished it by selecting examples of the rules of

arithmetic out of Scripture! But he left it to others to judge how far this was likely to cherish reverence for Holy Scripture, or to imbue young minds with dogmatic faith. This was the nearest approach he had yet heard of towards reducing the maxim into practice. He was not aware whether there were yet Church Schools, where all the copies in the writing-books were enunciations of dogma, and all the reading lessons extracted from treatises on dogmatic theology. After indulging for some time in this kind of raillery, he deprecates any attempt on the part of the clergy to take advantage of the poor man's necessity for the sake of making a proselyte of his child, and to do this against the will of the parents appeared to him a shameful abuse of an opportunity, and even if the Conscience Clause were not needed as a safeguard against a practical wrong, he thought that it would be valuable as a protest against a false principle.

In 1869 the question of National Education was still waiting for a solution. In the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, Pembroke and Radnor there were ninety-two parishes, with a population of over 400, containing no school of any description recognised by Government. Many of these parishes were remote and inaccessible, and the question was how the Government ought to meet the needs of such parishes. Ought the instruction to be secular only, and could the Church accept and approve of such a proposal? The Bishop did not fail to emphasise his own opinion that religious training was far more valuable than the mere development of the intellect, but he would not allow that a school in which instruction is confined to secular subjects was necessarily irreligious. "I believe," he writes. "that it may be a school of morals as well as learning, acting upon the habits and character by discipline, precept and example, and thus opening

the way, and disposing the heart, for an intelligent reception of religious truth. I attach much greater importance to the tone, to the moral atmosphere of a school than to the things taught in it." He desired, therefore, some means which would make up for the shortcomings of the existing system, while leaving it in the main untouched. A revolutionary measure, which would sacrifice what was generally considered most important in the quality of the education to the extension of its area would, in his opinion, be fraught with many dangers, and would divide the education of the country between Church Schools and State Schools, and thus open "a perennial spring of discord and strife."

These last words were prophetic. The Education Act was passed in 1870; and in 1872, in the last of his long Charges, he reviews the situation which he regards with grave anxiety. He was fully convinced that the Act was an honest effort on the part of the Government to meet the difficulty, and believed that it would prove a great blessing to the country. "A measure," he says, "which is fiercely assailed by the most violent partisans of opposite extremes has a strong presumption in its favour." He rejoiced that in the six months' grace which the Act allowed, grants were asked for 2,852 Church Schools, and that applications were met in the most gracious spirit. The opponents of the Church complained that the Act "had enabled the Denominationalists to cover districts with schools which will render School Boards unnecessary, except for the exercise of the compulsory power to fill those denominational schools." He regarded this testimony as a proof that the Church had not been insensible to the gravity of the crisis, or unmindful of her duty. He was saddened by the Nonconformist support of secular education: their enmity towards the Church seemed to

him to be the cause of their entering into an unnatural alliance with the enemies of all religion. He sympathised with those Nonconformist ministers and laymen, in whom "the Christian had been too strong for the Nonconformist," who had signed in opposition to the vast majority of their brethren a protest, in which they declared that the exclusion of the Bible by law from public Elementary Schools was in their belief a national evil. He did not wish to doubt the sincerity of those who attributed their adoption of secularism in this matter of State Education to "the intense earnestness of their piety;" but the so-called religious difficulty he could not regard as serious as long as it never existed outside the minds of those whom it furnished with the only plausible basis for their argument. He appeals to the Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for Mid-Wales to prove that no undue influence was brought to bear upon the children of Nonconformist parents, but that the danger was in the opposite direction of superficial and indefinite religious teaching in Church Schools.

He took this opportunity to give a solemn warning to Churchmen against what has so often proved their besetting sin in their attitude towards national and popular movements, *viz.*, *aloofness*. He urged Churchmen, and especially the clergy, not to be induced by their dislike for School Boards to stand aloof from them, but to take an active part in the development of a scheme of National Education. We know how dearly the Church has paid for the neglect of this wise and rational counsel not only in this matter of elementary education, but also with a few notable exceptions in the schemes of Intermediate and University Education. The Church has largely placed herself outside the current of the national life by the fatal policy of leaving to others the guidance of

the greatest movement in the history of the modern development of Wales. With the possible exception of Dean Edwards, of Bangor, Dean Vaughan, of Llandaff, and Lord Aberdare, there are scarcely any Churchmen in Wales who actively contributed to place the existing University Colleges on their present foundation. We may venture to risk the opinion that if Bishop Thirlwall had sat on the throne of St. David's two or three decades later, he would not have sanctioned the folly and blindness of continuing to keep St. David's College, Lampeter, of which the Bishop of St. David's is the Visitor, outside the national educational movement, with the result that the majority of the clergy in Wales trained at St. David's College are deprived of the advantage of an Arts Course in the National University, condemned to the inferiority of seminarists, and left in the dreary reaches of a lonely back-water. He had opposed the secularising of the instruction at St. David's College with a view to attract students who did not intend to be ordained, but it would have been another matter to affiliate the College to the National University, and either allow the students to take their Arts Course at one of the University Colleges, and reside at Lampeter for their special training in Divinity, or by removing the College to Cardiff, Bangor, or Aberystwyth, secure for it the status of Keble and Selwyn Colleges at the older Universities.

To sum up the results of the Bishop's educational policy, we may confidently say that there was substantial progress made in Elementary Education during his Episcopate. The number of scholars had advanced from 7,000 in 1826 to 12,000 in 1846. The enquiry instituted by the Government in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, as shown by the Chartist outbreak in 1839 and the Rebecca Riots in 1843, proved that the

number of schools in the diocese was 162, while 19 were held in churches, and others in tenements of various kinds. The hired rooms (says one of the Government Commissioners) in Cardiganshire and the wild districts of Breconshire degenerated into mere outhouses without ceilings and with ground floors! The teachers, in too many of these cases, possessed no other qualifications for their task except that they had failed in every other line. The establishment of the Training College in 1848 altered this state of things. The number of Church Schools in 1880 was 223, and of scholars in average attendance 19,000. The progress made in the quality of the education and in the character of the buildings was far greater than any statistics can show. "The defects," writes Archdeacon Bevan, "that existed in 1846 were gradually removed by the aid of Grants from the National Society and the Government. *poverty being at the root of the previous deficiencies.*" The same accurate authority shows that the number of Sunday scholars in the Church Schools in 1846 was 19,600; and in 1880 these had increased to a little over 30,000 with an average attendance of about 23,000.

We may regard as partly educational another task to which Bishop Thirlwall devoted many laborious hours of his later years, *viz.*, his work as Chairman (1868) of the Old Testament Revision Committee. He had been a strong advocate of revision and, being a good Hebraist, he contributed largely to the success of the work. After his resignation of the Bishopric in 1874, he continued his interest in spite of partial blindness and growing infirmities, and on July 3rd in that year he writes from Bath,—the scene of his retirement—to Canon (afterwards Bishop) Perowne: "Yesterday I dispatched a first instalment of my notes on 1st Samuel to the end of Chapter xii, and intend to send something more next week."

In his speech in the Upper House of Convocation he had advocated with his usual spirit of wise comprehensiveness and large-hearted charity that "the more eminent and distinguished among the Dissenters" should be invited to join in the work of revision. This step he recommended in the hope that the Revised Bible would meet with a universal reception, and he desired to reconcile the minds of his Dissenting brethren to the changes which were inevitable. He could foresee that one effect of the revision would be to deprive many of the clergy, and perhaps still more of the Dissenting ministers of *their favourite texts*. The two instances which he gave led to a controversy in a religious newspaper, and they are instructive to-day in showing how free the Bishop was from any motive save the search for truth in his interpretation of the Bible. In Haggai ii. 7 he did not hesitate to give up the impossible rendering of the A.V., "the desire of all nations"—sacred and venerable as it is with its Messianic associations—for the grammatically correct—"The precious things of all nations." The other instance is Jer. xxiii. 6, "the Lord our Righteousness" The two words do not stand in apposition, but in the relation of subject and predicate, "the Lord *is* our Righteousness"—a translation which would "render the text less serviceable for the use which is commonly made of it, but it would not in the slightest degree affect its application to Him who was made unto us righteousness." (1. Cor. i. 30). An examination of his views on Ps. cx. and the interpretation of Job. xix. 25 shows how far in advance of his compeers he was in matters of critical research. In 1871 came the "Westminster Scandal," that is, the invitation of one of the Revisers, who, as a Unitarian, denied the Godhead of Christ, to attend the celebration of the Holy Communion in Westminster Abbey. It gave occasion to the passing

of a condemnatory resolution proposed by Bishop Wilberforce in Convocation and carried by a large majority. Bishop Thirlwall gave notice of another resolution which was intended by him directly to contradict that of the day before by the assertion of an opposite principle. It was carried unanimously. "A more complete *volte face* movement," writes the Bishop, "was never executed by a deliberative assembly." In protest against the resolution he had resigned the Chairmanship of the O.T. Revision Committee, but he now withdrew his resignation, and "found his neck replaced in the old collar." He was possibly actuated to some extent by his close friendship and regard for Dean Stanley, but he took his stand on the principle that the revisers ought not to be guided by any other principle than the desire to bring the translation as near as they could to the original texts, and ought to be as much as possible on their guard against any bias of preconceived opinions or theological tenets in the work of Revision. His fellow-workers on the Revision Committee, he said, might have been Unitarians, Deists, or Atheists for anything he knew, but it never occurred to him that that had anything to do with the matter. He considered them merely in the light of eminent scholars.

On two occasions he stood *alone* among the Bishops. He alone refused to sign the address calling upon Bishop Colenso to resign, and he alone voted, as we have seen, for the Disestablishment of the Church in Ireland.

In this way he carried his liberal ideas into every department of his work, and with perfect consistency from his first entrance into public life even to the end. The Church, with her three recognised schools of thought, appealed all the more strongly to him on account of this diversity. "Our Church," he writes, "has the advantage of more than one type of orthodoxy—that of the

High Church, grounded on one aspect of its formularies; that of the Low Church, grounded on another aspect; and that of the Broad Church, striving to take in both, but in its own way. Each has a right to a standing place, none to the exclusive possession of the field." His was "a disposition to recognise and appreciate that which is true and good under all varieties of forms, and in persons separated from one another by the most conflicting opinions."

At a time when party feeling ran high within the Church and opposing factions had scarcely begun as yet to understand each other, the wisdom, moderation and impartiality of this great scholar had a most salutary influence on the spirit of the age. He taught all parties to clear their minds of inaccuracies of thought, to avoid fallacies in argument, to define the terms which they used, and weigh carefully the foundations on which their reasonings were based. This was no small advantage in a day of strife and bitterness.

In conclusion, let us ask what was his contribution to the progress and advancement of the higher interests—political, educational and religious—of Wales. From the start there is no doubt that his work was marked by characteristic thoroughness. He largely gave the impetus to the movement in which, according to a Parliamentary Return during the period 1840—1875, a sum of £374,653 was spent on the building, rebuilding and restoration of 228 churches; and it is worthy of notice that of that sum about £324,900 was the result of private contributions. He encouraged the work of the restoration of the magnificent cathedral of St. David's, the building of new parsonages, the immense increase in the number of schools, and the augmentation of the income of the poorer benefices. He gave not only the inspiration, but

devoted a sum amounting to £40,000 during his Episcopate to this work in the diocese. He was respected and admired by all, but it is to be feared with a certain awe which was not begotten of love. He was regarded as inaccessible and testy in conversation. "As to his Charges," writes a venerable incumbent, "they were no doubt very valuable contributions to current controversies; but they were addressed rather *urbi et orbi* than to his own clergy who groaned under the length and ponderousness of his arguments, which after all left us in a state of uncertainty as to his own views: so much was he taken up with proving that other people were wrong."

"*A cold and critical alien*" he remained to the last, and increasingly so as time went on, even to the clergy of his own diocese. In Wales those thirty-four years represented a critical period in the history of the Church and nation. New forces were coming to the birth: new ideas were taking possession of the people's minds: new powers were being entrusted to them by the extension of the franchise: new opportunities of higher education were being provided. A giant in mind and intellect could not do what might have been effected by another of inferior mould but with greater sympathy with the people, speaking their language with no strange accent or "*lledïaith*," appealing to their hearts and affections with the apostolic zeal of their own saints, relinquishing the solitude of "Chaos," and the rural retreat of Abergwili for the busy haunts of men.

"*A cold and critical alien*"—and alas! the opportunity is lost: indifference has crystallised into hostility: the Mother Church which planted Christianity in our midst, and watched over the nation's life in days of national feud and disorder, and gave us the Holy Scriptures in our

own tongue, is denounced as an alien Church, largely owing to the mistaken policy of sending to Wales this and other truly great men who, as Bishops of Ely or Exeter, of Lincoln or Lichfield, might have done nobler service. As the nation was oppressed by alien influences and kept in ignorance and poverty, so also was the Church—the Church of our Fathers—held in bondage, and hindered from fulfilling her Divine Mission.

ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D.
(Lord Bishop of Llandaff, 1849—1882).

ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D., BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

Born August 16, 1798; *Vice Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter,* 1827—1843; *Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge,* 1843—1849; *Bishop of Llandaff,* 1849—1882; *died December* 16, 1882.

By CHANCELLOR J. E. OLLIVANT.

THE subject of this memoir was born at Manchester, August 16, 1798, where his father, William Ollivant, was engaged in business. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Stephen Langston, of Great Horwood, Bucks. His father, whose affairs became involved, soon afterwards removed his family to London, where he obtained some small employment in the Navy Office. The future Bishop, who was one of a large family, thus early learned habits of self-denial and self-dependence. At first at a day school in Chelsea, his real scholastic career began with his entry, August 22, 1809, at St. Paul's School, then presided over by Dr. Sleath, and of which he became captain in 1817. St. Paul's was in those days a somewhat rough nursery for a delicate boy, but he there laid the foundation of a future successful career, and always bore, during a long life, his old school in grateful remembrance, keeping up his connection with it to the last. His youth was somewhat self-contained and clouded by early responsibilities which left the traces of earnest thought upon his countenance, and was the key to what seemed to some a lack of sympathetic expansion in small matters, which belied the kindly heart within.

The incidents of the wars with Napoleon Buonaparte: the terrible taxation: the distress and gloom in London: the recurring excitement of despatches from the seat of war: the mourning of families, and the half-hearted illuminations, formed the back ground to his school interests, and made a deep impression upon his mind. Hence, during his whole life hardly a line was penned about Napoleon or Wellington that he did not study with ever renewed interest.

From St. Paul's he was elected to a Campden Exhibition at Trinity College, Cambridge, and from the age of eighteen he supported himself entirely by his own exertions. At Cambridge he gained a Perry Exhibition, followed by the Craven Scholarship in 1820, graduating in the following year as Sixth Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Medallist. He was shortly afterwards elected Fellow of Trinity. In 1822 he obtained the Tyrwhitt Scholarship for Hebrew, and the Member's Prize for the Latin Essay as Middle Bachelor, and the latter as Senior Bachelor in 1823. He took his B.A. degree in 1821, his M.A. in 1824, and in 1836 his B.D. and D.D.

For a while he engaged in tuition at Cambridge and Eton, numbering amongst his pupils the Marquis of Douro, second Duke of Wellington, and his brother; also for a vacation the two Wordsworths, subsequently Bishop of Lincoln and St. Andrew's.

In 1827 he was chosen to co-operate as Vice-Principal and Professor of Theology and Greek with Dr. Lewellin, the future Dean of St. David's as Principal, in the inauguration of St. David's College, Lampeter, and in 1828 vacated his fellowship on his marriage with Alicia Olivia, daughter of Lieut.-General Spencer, of Bramley Grange, Yorkshire, who became the mother of his six children, and who was

throughout his life an active and sympathetic co-operator in all good works.

Space fails us to dwell upon the history of the foundation and early struggles of St. David's College. Suffice it to say that the means of education for Welsh candidates for Holy Orders, few of whom could afford to reside at the English Universities, were of a miserable description, when Bishop Burgess, with the generous co-operation of the clergy, Mr. Harford of Blaise Castle, and others, applied himself successfully to the provision of facilities for a definite and systematic education within the Principality itself, the College being opened on St. David's Day, 1827.* The Vice-Principal preached at the consecration of the chapel on August 23, and occupied the same post fifty-three years later at its reopening after enlargement on June 24, 1880. The removal from congenial studies and friends at Cambridge to the banks of the Teivi, remote in those days from the busy world, was at first a great trial to him, but he had counted the cost, and entered upon the practical work before him with real devotion to the interests of the College, where he not only left his mark as a scholar, a Hebraist and a theologian, but also by his business capacity aided much in combating the financial difficulties of those early days. Dean Lewellin in some generous words put on record his opinion that the success of the College "was mainly owing" to the ability of Dr. Ollivant.† Nor was his interest in St. David's College limited to his sojourn there. In all the questions affecting it, his pen, his counsel or his influence, were always to hand in any effort to improve its endowments or position, whether it were the removal of the College to

* Vide Letter on early days at St. David's College by the author in "The Welshman," October 30, 1885.

† Vide "The Welshman," June 27, 1856.

Brecon or the obtaining of extended Charters and Degrees, corresponding largely thereon with Bishops Thirlwall, Campbell and Hughes, with Sir Thomas Phillips and other influential Welsh laymen. It was at his request that the Court of Haberdashers extended to St. David's College certain Exhibitions hitherto limited to the Universities, the Attorney General raising some objection, which, however, he was able to remove.

The personal interest, however, of this period resides in the fact that it was the commencement of a long life spent mainly in the service of Wales, and that the foundation was then laid of an improvement in the material and culture of candidates for Holy Orders, of which later on as Bishop he was destined to reap the fruits, while the necessity of a higher standard of life and education was ever before his mind. In his third Charge the following words occur:

> "It is my hearty desire and prayer that our clergy may be a class of well-educated and intelligent men, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, distinguished by professional ability, and knowledge, not merely by a decent mediocrity of attainment, but calculated by their manifest superiority to gain a firm hold upon the public mind, and to mould and fashion it in agreement with the Will of God."

He was always anxious that St. David's College, of which the efficiency had been mainly impeded, during the greater part of his own connection with it, by the miserable inadequacy of its endowments, and its inability to confer an academical degree, *should become a place of general, as well as professional education; while for himself Lampeter afforded opportunity of gaining a thorough acquaintance with the educational and social requirements

* Charge, 1866, pp. 7, 8.

of the classes that fed the Church. He satisfied himself that a radical improvement in, and extension of the the Grammar Schools was the first essential towards the progress of education in Wales, and for the provision of a higher toned and more cultured clergy; and believed that the University Colleges, unless wider opportunities for a sound preliminary education were first provided, would be hampered in the provision of more advanced instruction by themselves having to lay the ground work. But although he was not in harmony with some of the conclusions of the Report in 1881 on the "Condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales," nor disposed to allow the validity of much of the evidence upon which they were founded, giving his reasons at length in a vigorous article, remarkable as being written shortly before his death, in the "Church Quarterly Review" for October, 1882, yet he was entirely with one with the Commissioners on the broad question of the necessity of raising the existing low standard of education, while taking a different view of the causes that led to it. It is interesting to note that one of the first, if not the very first, requests to Government for a "Commission to enquire into the present condition of Higher Education in the Principality," signed by the four Welsh Bishops was dated from Bishop's Court, Llandaff, July, 1877."*

And with regard to the question of a Welsh University, speaking at the Church Congress at Swansea, in 1880, he explained his views that Wales was not ripe for it "at this moment," but was careful to add: "I lay particular stress upon the words 'at this moment,' for what may

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*I hold the acknowledgment of this from Lord Beaconsfield's Secretary. It was, I believe, drawn up by Bishop Ollivant's pen.—AUTHOR.

be the conditon of Wales in ten, twenty, or forty years, I cannot tell."*

At Lampeter he mastered, from a scholar's point of view at least, the Welsh language, and though no Englishman appears to be capable of thoroughly entering into the genius of the vernacular, yet he attained a sufficient practical facility in it to enable him to preach and converse therein. His appointment as examining chaplain to Bishops Jenkinson and Thirlwall afforded further opportunity in the same direction. In connection with the College he held the sinecure Rectory and Vicarage of Llangeler, subsequently exchanged for the Rectory of Bettws Bledrws, near Lampeter, where he preached on Sundays in Welsh. He also held Prebendal stalls at St. David's and Brecon. On November 8, 1836, he was instituted to the Rectory of Kerry in Montgomeryshire, a spot famous in Welsh history for the passage of arms between the militant Archdeacon, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. Though the names of the farms were Welsh, and an old Welsh Bible was chained in the side aisle, only one old woman could speak that language. There in the quaint old church a terrible fate awaited the unwary sleeper in whose ear a " ting tang " bell was sounded by a bellman, whose office is now abolished. Here Dr. Ollivant spent his vacations from Lampeter, leaving an efficient curate during Term time; but this benefice he did not hold long, being recalled to Cambridge in 1843 as Regius Professor of Divinity, which appointment was then held in connection with the Rectory of Somersham, Hunts.

The beautiful silver salver, presented to him on his leaving Lampeter, bears the following inscription :—

*Report. Church Congress, Swansea, pp. 80, 81.

To the REVEREND ALFRED OLLIVANT, D.D.,
Professor of Hebrew,
Vice Principal of St. David's College.
Presented
By his late Pupils, and other Friends
in
The Diocese of St. David's,
In token of their deep sense of his
Invaluable services to the cause of
Religion and Literature,
And as a mark of their sincere
Respect for his character as a
Gentleman and for his principles as a
Churchman. 1843.

His introductory lecture as Professor made clear his desire to discharge rather the spirit than the letter of the statutory obligations;* and in addition to the superintendence of the usual divinity exercises and theological examinations, he revived the theological lectures, fallen into abeyance, supplementing them with a voluntary class for Hebrew students. Thus passed his life, until on the nomination of Lord John Russell, he was called to preside over the See of Llandaff, his knowledge of the Welsh language exercising considerable weight in the appointment, and this, combined with his intimate acquaintance with the necessities of the Church in Wales, tended to make the appointment generally popular amongst the Diocesan clergy and Welsh gentry. "The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian," in giving expression to this feeling, added that "he has a competent and as many think a complete knowledge of the Welsh language."†

Dr. Ollivant was consecrated Bishop December 2, 1849, and held his first ordination at Monmouth in May, 1850.

*A copy of this is, I believe, still preserved in the Chapter Library, Llandaff.

†November, 1849.

Great injury had been inflicted on the See by the lack of an Episcopal Residence, and of a sufficient income to enable the Bishops to reside without holding other preferments. Even the days when they resided at Matherne Palace were now only a memory. Both these wants were now supplied, and the Bishop enabled, to his own great happiness and the advantage of the diocese, to become, probably the first Protestant Bishop who had ever resided at Llandaff itself. "Bishop's Court," as the old "Llandaff Court," rebuilt by Admiral Matthew, was now christened, (subsequently, to the writer's great regret, named "The Palace") was an appropriate purchase, inasmuch as the ruins of the old Episcopal Castle destroyed by Owen Glendower still exist in the garden hard by. The Cathedral City, then but a small and untidy village, thus took its fitting place, as the centre of spiritual life, and renewed Ecclesiastical activity within the Diocese. This return to the Bishops' "Stool;" the restoration of the ruined and disfigured Cathedral, undoubtedly, in the opinion of Professor Freeman, the greatest of its kind since that of Lichfield Cathedral in 1661,* and the foundation of the Llandaff Church Extension Society, form three of the most important features of this Episcopate.

The restoration of the Cathedral begun in 1843 by Dean Bruce Knight, continued by Dean Conybeare to 1854, and thence onwards by Dean Williams, was finally accomplished at a cost of over thirty thousand pounds.†

The untiring efforts and enthusiasm-arousing eloquence of the latter, combined with the ceaseless interest and co-operation of the Bishop, finally carried through the

* Address at the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Llandaff, August 12, 1869.

† About £30,000 up to 1870. Vide "Some Account of the Condition of the Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral," from 1575 to 1860, by Bishop Ollivant, and the "Times" May 7, and 14 and June 8, 1897.

more important portions of the work. The whole Cathedral being reopened July 13, 1869, the crowning stone of the beautiful new South West Tower and Spire having been placed *in situ* by the Bishop himself on April 19. This re-opening was probably the greatest day Llandaff had seen since the completion of his Cathedral by Bishop Urban in the twelfth century. The name of John Prichard, architect, to whose thought, taste and genius the main portion and beauty of the work is due, though critics may note some faults in detail, must not pass without a word of remembrance. By his hand appropriately the vane was fixed on the highest point of his completed work.

In his Charge of 1869 the Bishop gave a picturesque account of the desolation of the Cathedral, and his installation in 1850.

" Few Bishops, I imagine, can have had it in their power to look back upon such a welcome to their See." To epitomise, the Western portion was then a roofless ruin covered with ivy in parts. Eastward stood an Italian temple, on the model of the Bath Pump-room, surmounted by two large Urns, now in the Bishop's garden, and beyond that the restored Lady Chapel. The side-aisles were unflagged, and the floor of the Presbytery but bare earth. The choir, with its stall-work of painted deal, harmonised with the debased building: there had been no choir since 1691. There was only one ecclesiastic, the aged Vicar-choral Prichard, in residence, who responded to the Bishop's demand for admission. There were no residentiary Prebendaries, no surviving houses for them, no Deanery as yet, the schoolmaster with a bass viol leading the village school children.*

* "Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian" of date, for details of the Installation.

We must now glance at the state of the Diocese in 1849. For some time past the breath of a revival of Church life had begun to stir, and in his first Charge the Bishop rendered full justice to his immediate predecessors who had laid the foundation for Diocesan reconstruction. More especially did he mention the love and respect of the Diocese for Bishop Copleston during whose Episcopate, ably aided as he had been by Archdeacons Williams and Crawley, the former of whom had at one time been "quasi Bishop and quasi Dean,"* Church restoration was begun, many glebe houses provided, and the awakening life lovingly fostered.† Nevertheless the circumstances of the Diocese were critical, exceptionally hard to grapple with, and they needed all the ability, common sense and clear judgment that Dr. Ollivant was able to bring to the task. In the words of the late Lord Aberdare: "If at that time we had had thrust upon the Diocese a worldly or ambitious prelate, if we had had one who was simply lethargic or indifferent, undoubtedly much of that spirit would have been checked, and the growth of improvement retarded. Fortunately, in the case of Bishop Ollivant, it was quite otherwise. From the very first he threw himself ardently into every scheme for improving the spiritual welfare of the Diocese, and with what success it is not for me to mention to you."‡

Llandaff was a diocese in which there had been fifteen Bishops in 160 years, of whom eleven had been translated. No wonder that earlier in the century decay and neglect had left their mark upon church and parsonage, that the majority of churches were cold and damp, and the services irregular and often lifeless, unsuited to the

*Bishop Ollivant's Tenth Charge.

†Between 1840-49 about £39,000 was spent in Church restoration.

‡*Western Mail*, December 1, 1882.

enthusiastic character of the Welsh, and sometimes in a language not understood by the majority of the people, and many of the clergy non-resident from want of fitting houses, or apathy, or overdone by the burden of serving several churches, or the necessities of a bilingual parish.

Nevertheless much had been already done, and the Bishop in his First Charge defended his diocese against the reckless statements of a writer in the "Quarterly Review," September, 1850 saying that "decency and propriety for the most part prevail, and in the restoration of our ancient structures we have largely partaken of the spirit of the age." But the parochial system and resources of the Church had been overtaxed by the amazing increase of population, and the machinery paralysed. The discovery of coal and iron in the previous century had changed entirely the character of many peaceful rural districts; masses of foreign labour, too often of a rough and lawless character had poured in, thus increasing the bilingual difficulty. The rich employers of labour were often deaf to their duty; the toilers in the mines destitute of religious, educational or social advantages, and the endowments of the clergy miserably inadequate to meet the spiritual needs of the ever growing multitudes. "There were," moreover, in 1849, "parishes of unmanageable extent, such as Bedwellty, with 2,600 acres, and Cadoxton Juxta Neath, which was ten miles in length, with 31,000. There were industrial settlements like Hirwain with 3,000 inhabitants and no pastor at all." Merthyr had a population of 50,000 with church room for 2,500 only, while in the three parishes of Aberdare, Llanwonno and Ystradyfodwg, containing 50,000 acres and upwards of 20,000 inhabitants, there is hardly church room for six hundred souls (for 6,832 in 1892).* Already

* V. Charge, 1851, p. 37, and remarks of the late Lord Aberdare at a meeting at Bridgend, in 1850.

the population, estimated earlier in the century at 117,000, had risen to 350,000 and continued yearly to increase by leaps and bounds. Who can wonder that the law-abiding character of the native population did not withstand the shock or that the toilers in our mines had sunk into a state of degradation. We feel no surprise to read of the Merthyr Riots in 1830 ; the Chartist in 1839 and the raids of " Rebecca," nor that the attention of Parliament was attracted to the unsatisfactory state of the diocese.*

Moreover there was the indisputable fact of the alienation of large masses from the Mother-church.

The Bishop, however, never acknowledged the necessity of its permanence ; on any invincible hostility, but hoped rather, that served by a faithful and educated clergy, the Church re-edified and enlarging her borders in a spirit of comprehension might yet see a large return to her fold, and unceasingly recognised the great service done to Wales by the Nonconformist bodies in keeping alive the flame of spiritual life during a period of lethargy and spiritual darkness, and their work in the service of a common Master.

His views as to the cause of Dissent in Wales may be gathered from the following passages in his Charges : " The people, therefore, so far as the Church is concerned, have been practically left in many localities without a pastor. She has made no provision for them, and till she does, we thank God that they made some provision for themselves. But although they do this, it by no means follows that they disapprove or are antagonistic to the church *per se* or have any well weighed objection to what

* V. On above subjects the Parliamentary Return made, on the motion of Mr. J. Williams, February 5, 1880, also the testimony of Messrs. John Nicholl and Bosanquet at their respective Quarter Sessions in 1850, and report by Mr. Commissioner Tremenheere to the Committee of P.C. on Education.

are called her distinctive doctrines (he is speaking, it may be well to note, not of the ministers or more cultured, but of the general body of Nonconformists). Too often, indeed, they hear grievous things laid to her charge, which she herself knows nothing of, and a vast amount of prejudice is no doubt created by these misrepresentations. But generally speaking, the people are Dissenters, not so much on the score of principle, or deliberate conviction, as from the necessity of circumstances, which have prevented them being one fold under one Shepherd."*

And again, speaking of the founders of Calvinistic Methodism: "Well would it have been for *us* in the present day, if by the widening and deepening of the Church's channel, the torrent of their impetuous zeal had been restrained within, instead of overflowing her banks, and separating itself into a number of different and diverging streams. Is it too late for us to learn the lesson, that by a little more elasticity in our framework, a little more freedom of action, a little more allowance for private feeling and opinion upon such dogmatic questions as are non-essential for the vitality of the faith, we might make our Church still more comprehensive than she is, and possibly reclaim some who, although they dissent from us, feel, and avow that they feel, that dissent is a sad and painful necessity, and that the true ideal of the Church must be, that all its members should be one in accordance with our Saviour's prayer, 'As thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us?'"*

Nevertheless it is patent that of late years religious rivalry has been tinged more and more by political rivalry, nor can it be conceded that it was in Wales alone, or on the Welsh Church only, that apathy had fallen in the previous century. It was felt everywhere, in the realms

* V. Charges 1866, pp. 16 and 18, 69, p. 11.

of Art, of Architecture and of Poetry; and the feeling of Welsh nationality itself, now so keen and alive to tradition, was in a comatose state, while even the Eisteddfodau had slept for nearly 150 years. "Perhaps it is hardly too much to say," said the Bishop at the presentation of his portrait, a few days before his death, "that during the last or great part of the century, it might have been said of the Church of England, 'she is not dead, but sleepeth'; " and that Judge Blackstone, after hearing all the London preachers of distinction, concluded "that there was not a single sermon that he had heard which contained any more Christianity than the writings of Cicero, that it was impossible to decide whether the preacher was a follower of Confucius, of Mahomet, or of Christ."

It must be allowed that there were some, but rare, occasions upon which he thought right to enter into polemics with Nonconformists, in which he sometimes used unwelcome extracts from their own writings, to prove his points; thus, at one time, in a sermon preached at St. Fagan's, Aberdare,* he aroused some indignation by stating his view that the moral and spiritual condition of the Welsh in London was not as sound and healthy as boasted of; at another he disputed some conclusions in the Report on Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales, asking, "is it really desirable in the interests of morality and religion that the people of Wales should be allowed to flatter themselves that Mr. Richard has drawn a faithful picture of their condition?"†

But the general regard in which he was held was shown on his death by the many tributes of respect paid to his memory by Nonconformist ministers, and contributors

*August 26, 1856.

†Appendix to the Commissioners' Report.

from various denominations joined in the presentation of his portrait.*

And that the heart of the Welsh people is not entirely alienated from the historic church, may be inferred from the keen interest taken in the appointment of his successor. Why did Nonconformists not rather say " What's Hecuba to us, or we to Hecuba ? "

Recognising at once that the existing machinery and church resources were unequal to grapple with the serious position above described, and in response to a forcible and eloquent letter addressed to him by Archdeacon Williams, the Bishop proceeded in 1850 to convoke assemblies of the Clergy and laity of the two counties at Bridgend and Newport to confer upon the best measures to meet the problem. The principal needs he stated to be threefold—a larger supply of better educated pastors, more places of worship, and the foundation of Exhibitions at Lampeter to attract men of scanty means to qualify for Holy Orders.

The response was entirely gratifying, the laity coming nobly forward in co-operation. Mr. Bruce Pryce of Duffryn, Mr. Howel Gwyn of Neath, and Sir Thomas Phillips being worthy of special mention. The result was the foundation of the Llandaff Church Extension Society, which under the able management of the late Lord Aberdare and Mr. R. O. Jones, followed by Messrs. Jonas Watson and O. H. Jones as successive secretaries, has continued ever since, though frequently nearly at the end of its resources, to stimulate local effort, aiding largely by its grants the supply of additional Church

* " If all the clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff were only to manifest a similar spirit to the Bishop and the Dean, Churchmen and Dissenters would be very much more united."
(Letter from the Rev. Idrisyn Jones, of Brecon, the author of a pamphlet, " Why are we Nonconformists ? ")

accommodation and pastoral superintendence. For statistics of the great work accomplished or the funds expended reference can be made to the society's reports. We will quote the words of Lord Aberdare at Cardiff, March 30, 1883; "The meeting of 1850 was a fresh and most important starting point in the history of the progress of the Church in the diocese. I think from that day we may date a far more earnest co-operation of the laity; a far more liberal subscription, and what is even of more value still a greater amount of personal sympathy. Up to that time the clergy had been left in very many cases to struggle with their difficulties as they might. Things have much changed now, and I question whether in a single parish in this large diocese there is a clergyman who has shown himself anxious to do his duty who has not met with an adequate amount of public support." And again: "There can be no question that the Church, in its renewed spirit of life and energy, is cultivating the respect and attracting the interest of large numbers of educated Nonconformists." The Bishop's knowledge of the functions and proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners aided much in obtaining benefactions, not only to meet the Society grants, but also as regarded the augmentation of small benefices and the division of parishes, and much assistance was derived from the "Church Pastoral Aid" and "Additional Curates" Societies.

The only Diocesan Societies existing in 1849 were the Boards of Education and the Llandaff Diocesan Church Building Society, the latter dating from 1845. Other organisations soon followed—lay readers were introduced and the Choral Association founded. The "Home Mission," which he founded, lay very near to his heart, but caused him some disappointment. The original

intention was to send out a missionary clergy as pioneers in districts beyond the reach of the parochial clergy, or amongst populations of recent growth, but difficulties arose with regard to their licenses and salaries, if itinerant, and objections on the part of some Incumbents to receive them, so that by force of circumstances they became stationary clergy. Nevertheless, though "the success was not equal to his wishes," yet the "fruit" which he was permitted to see before he was summoned to his rest, sufficiently showed that God had blessed the work.* The "House of Mercy," now removed to Penarth, was established at Llandaff early in the Sixties and fostered by Mrs. Ollivant. To the indefatigable assistance and legal knowledge of Sir Thomas Phillips, the diocese is chiefly indebted for the better application of the funds of Howell's Charity, resulting in the establishment by the Drapers' Company in 1859 of the Schools at Llandaff and Denbigh, but in which the Bishop also took an active part.

In addition to the valued advice of the Archdeacons, he attached much importance to the Ruridecanal office, and year by year the Rural Deans met at "Bishop's Court" to discuss the needs of the diocese, and matters of importance to the Church at large, or of current controversy. One such discussion was on the advisability of inaugurating a Diocesan Conference, but in view of his own age, and the absence of enthusiasm for it at that time among the Rural Deans, he thought well to leave the initiation to his successor.

To sum up briefly from the Bishop's Charges the results of the Episcopate between 1860—1882, fifty new churches (exclusive of iron or other licensed buildings) were built, and some 200 rebuilt, enlarged, restored or substantially repaired. The number of resident incumbents and of

* Report Home Mission, 1893.

Confirmations were vastly increased and forty-two lay-readers appointed, seventy-one parsonages were built or rendered habitable, and some twenty-seven new Ecclesiastical districts formed, while the Ecclesiastical Commissioners alone were helping to support between seventy and eighty additional curates. In 1827 there were only ninety-seven parishes which had a resident incumbent or curate, according to Bishop Sumner!* How changed the picture now, in 1906, after the two intervening Episcopates: the clerical staff of the diocese consisting of over two hundred and sixty resident incumbents with nearly two hundred and fifty assistant clergy, curates and chaplains.†

The Bishop was eminently practical and direct in purpose. He disliked all metaphysical discussions, or questions of a mere speculative character. His mind declined to build upon any foundation other than one of provable fact. He was unassuming in his public, and simple in his private, life, which was entirely regulated by religion and duty, and charitable in his judgments on others. He went thoroughly to the bottom of whatever subject he had in hand; and if he left no one great literary work behind him, it was because his writings were entirely devoted to the necessities of the day, or the immediate questions that agitated the Church. He was no party man, either in political or religious questions; he called himself a Whig, a label now out of date; his instincts however were Conservative, though he was not averse to changes when convinced they were right or beneficial. He did not often attend the House of Lords, except when matters immediately affecting religion or Church politics were in debate; but at Convocation he was a regular attendant, and he rarely failed to take the chair at

* Vide Charge, p. 11.

† Diocesan Calendar for 1907.

the various Diocesan Quarterly Committee Meetings, weighing previously all the subjects for discussion. His speeches were always concise, his arguments lucid, and his conclusions logical, free moreover from party bias, but he made no claim to be an orator. His religious views were liberal, though doubtless strongly coloured by the influence of Simeon in early life at Cambridge, and the Evangelical movement was associated in his mind with the renewal of spiritual life in the country, and his own deepest aspirations. Therefore in 1877 he sprang to the defence of its Apostles in two pamphlets against a writer in the July "Quarterly Review," who had cast upon them the chief responsibility for the spread of Dissent. His religious convictions were perhaps too far removed from Calvinistic views on the one hand, while not sufficiently emotional on the other to be congenial to the Welsh mind; but he was both loved and respected for the example of his own Christian life and his tolerance for the religious thought of others. Thus, though he used his influence to check excessive or unnecessary Ritual innovations, it was not that he was hostile to such adjuncts as would, within limits, render Church services more attractive to the masses, or more reverential; but it was rather the lawless exaggeration, or the forcing of changes upon unwilling congregations, to the destruction of the mutual confidence of parson and people, and the strife caused by rival societies that he deprecated. His desire was to give all earnest workers for the Church, though their methods were different to his own, fair play, and to uphold its comprehensiveness. Thus it was that the diocese was kept free from the bitterness of ecclesiastical litigation and controversy; and according to a lay-writer after his death, "to the Bishop's good judgment, knowledge and charitable temper, and the good sense and

feeling of his clergy, this happy deliverance must be mainly ascribed."* But in doctrinal matters, as his weighty Charges sufficiently prove, he always combated, not in a narrow spirit,—but with well considered words and careful proofs, such views as he thought inconsistent with the Church's teaching.

The work of his Episcopate of thirty-three years and treatment of the questions that agitated the Church at large, may be gathered from the eleven weighty triennial Charges delivered. Beginning with the state of the diocese in 1851 and of the Cathedral, amongst the special subjects treated were:—The Inspiration of Scripture; the Doctrine of the Real Presence; the Ritual and Usages of the Church; the Ornaments Rubric and Liturgical Revision; Obligatory Confession; the Public Worship Regulation Bill; the Revival of Convocation, and the Relations of Church and State and the Appellate Jurisdiction, in addition to those bearing upon the moral state of the diocese such as missions, education, intemperance, unbelief, the dwellings of the poor, and the bilingual difficulty. In the eighth Charge he discusses the Athanasian Creed, the use of which he would have preferred to see limited, for he could not persuade himself that "in pronouncing the sentence of everlasting perdition in her public worship (the Church) has any right to go beyond the express declaration of Holy Scriptures." Briefly, this conclusion was partly founded on the History of the Creed, and methods of its use in the Romish and Greek Churches: partly on the ground that it has never been decided by authority, whether the "damnatory" clauses apply only to the fundamental doctrines, or embrace also the series of propositions added by Theologians.

* J. Coke Fowler, Esq., Red Dragon, March, 1883.

In 1860 he published a second edition (with plates) of his account of Llandaff Cathedral from 1575, and three years later two letters to the clergy in reference to Bishop Colenso's "Critical Examination of the Pentateuch," and many sermons from Lampeter days onward. His "Analysis of the (Hebrew) Text of the History of Joseph" was written originally for the Students of St. David's College, though used as a Text-Book elsewhere.

On several occasions he defended his clergy against charges he thought unjust. Thus when H.M's Inspector of Schools who, in 1849 and 1851, had borne honourable testimony to progress in the county of Glamorgan, spoke in a latter Report of "anarchy, neglect and incapacity" in the Church Schools in Wales generally, he repudiated the charges in so far as applicable to his own diocese in an open letter to the clergy April 13, 1856 :* and again, when exaggerated statements, with regard to some Ritualistic practices therein were brought before an Evangelical Conference at Clifton.

On the importance of the provision of Welsh pastors and Welsh services he felt very strongly, taking every available means to satisfy himself as to the real necessity before institution to a benefice. On one occasion his refusal, on the ground of insufficient acquaintance with the vernacular, was appealed against to the Archbishop, who confirmed his decision. The truth was not always easily attainable. Occasionally the evidence and report of one Commission, was stultified by that of another shortly afterwards in the same parish and, speaking generally, service on such investigations was considered an invidious duty.†

Let, however, the Bishop speak for himself on the Welsh

* Vide Charge 1857, pp. 21, 22.

† Report of Church Congress, Swansea, 1886, p. 272.

question. He wrote in 1851: "Earnestly as it is to be desired that all should be capable of receiving religious instruction through the medium of one language, it is palpable that that period has not yet actually arrived. To attempt to retard the arrival of that period is, I think, as unpatriotic and contrary to the best interests of the Principality, as I believe such attempts will be futile and unavailing. But, so long as the condition of things continues as it is, we are bound to adapt our ministrations to the wants and feelings, perhaps I may even go farther and say to the prejudices, of the people. Our Church is not, as it is too frequently regarded in Wales, the Church of the rich only, but of the poor also. The necessary consequence of ignoring the language. through which their warmest feelings are expressed, and by which alone we can find access to their hearts, is to exclude them from our pale, and to consign them to the influence of Dissent. Many who are sufficiently acquainted with the English language for the ordinary purposes of intercourse are not so familiar with it as to render it a suitable vehicle for religious instruction. If we refuse them that instruction, through the medium by which alone it can influence their affections, we may reason upon the subject as we please, but they will steadily refuse to receive at our hands."* Again, in 1869, that there were some "especially of the old people who can only speak or understand Welsh, and many who prefer it, and demand it for the purposes of worship and religious instruction, so that we are still compelled to use it, inasmuch as it is the medium through which they are wont to express their warmest feelings."

Early in his Episcopate the Bishop originated a movement to make provision for the religious needs of the

* Vide Primary Charge, 1851, p. 52.

Welsh in Cardiff, with the result that All Saints' Church was built by Lady Bute. "But," he wrote, "the good work was frustrated by the apathy of the Welsh people themselves, who neither attended the services as they might have done, nor made such contributions towards its support as could secure the services of an efficient pastor." Subsequently a large Irish population gathered in the neighbourhood, and a change of site became expedient. The Marquess of Bute offered a more convenient one, in a more central situation, and a Bill in 1872, to enable the exchange, had actually passed the House of Lords, when an anti-Popery clamour was raised that a Welsh Church was to be sold in favour of Roman Catholics. In consequence the Bill was thrown out to the lasting injury of the Welsh themselves. The Bishop explained the reasons for the proposal fully in the Press. In 1878, complaints were made that the interests of the Welsh in Cardiff were neglected. In reply to the petitioners he wrote the history summarised above and, while fully admitting the necessity of Welsh ministrations, added that "the Clergy of Cardiff were pressed beyond measure with their existing duties," that he had no resources at his command, but that if the numbers given of real Welsh-speaking people were accurate (26,000 resident and 8,000 seamen) the remedy lay in their own hands, for "to erect a suitable building, and provide an adequate stipend cannot be an oppressive burden for 26,000 people to bear." Meanwhile the church had perforce, failing support as a distinctly Welsh Church, become the Church of a district constituted in aid of St. Mary's parish. Subsequently necessity for a Welsh Church pressing, a Bill was again promoted in 1899, which efforts happily culminated in the substitution for All Saints of Eglws-Dewi-Sant.*

* Vide *Western Mail*, November 3, 1878. *South Wales Daily News*, May 27, 1872. *Times*, 1872 and 1895, etc.

In 1870 the revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible came before the Convocation of Canterbury for consideration. The original proposal was limited to the New Testament but, on Bishop Ollivant's motion, it was extended to the Old Testament also. He himself was nominated as one of the Revisers of the latter, and his accurate scholarship and critical acumen proved of great value during the laborious task. He presided at the first meeting on June 30, 1870, and was regular in subsequent attendance until 1875, after which, in consequence of increasing years and deafness, and a special resolution of the Company he continued as a "corresponding member" only, to forward his suggestions in writing until the November preceding his death. "There was no member," wrote Mr. Aldis Wright, the secretary, "who commanded more the respect and esteem of his fellow-workers. Everything which he proposed was distinguished by the clear good sense which was characteristic of him; although Conservative he was not averse to change, preferring truth, even with novelty, to error consecrated by age. It was a constant source of astonishment to me that with the burden of more than four score years, and the charge of a diocese he was able to send us such copious and yet concise and beautifully written notes as he did to the last."

In 1877 the diocese sustained a great loss in the death of Dean Williams, and on the death of his successor, Dean Blosse in 1879, some stir was created by the Bishop's appointment of Dr. Vaughan, Master of the Temple, to the vacant deanery.

The Bishop felt that the introduction of a man of such mental calibre and preaching ability, and one of such mark throughout England would dignify, broaden and strengthen the spiritual life of the diocese; and the appointment,

though not universally welcome, was received by many with gratitude and by the diocese at large respectfully and with some feeling of pride. In North Wales, however, where the clergy had absolutely no claim to a voice in the matter, a storm of simulated patriotism arose resulting in a protest, which failed to arouse a response in the South; and the enthusiastic reception given to the aged prelate at the Church Congress at Swansea in the autumn showed significantly the feeling of the clergy with regard to this interference. At the Congress he attended every meeting where matters of interest to Wales were discussed, and in reply to statements that the shortcomings of the Welsh Church-Press were due to an "unsympathetic Episcopacy," and that the road to preferment was barred to its contributors, he vigorously repudiated the charges.*

After two or three peaceful years we reach in 1882 the closing scene of his labours. He was taken ill at Newquay in Cornwall, but on his return home, preached on November 2, according to promise, what proved to be his last sermon, at the reopening of St. Mary's, Monmouth, in which church he had also commenced his Episcopal functions, holding there his first ordination in 1850.

Increasing illness prevented his performing the same office at St. Mary's, Abergavenny, on December 14. These two important restorations he regarded as crowning that side of the work of his Episcopate. His place at Abergavenny was filled by the Dean, who spoke of the Church of Llandaff as on the point of being—Canterbury by the death of Archbishop Tait being also vacant—"twice-widowed." On the occasion of his "golden wedding," in 1878, he and Mrs. Ollivant had been presented by the principal residents at Llandaff, with a valuable clock as a mark of affection. For some time

* Vide Report Swansea Congress pp. 559, 60—76, 77.

past, however, there had been a general desire to present him with some public token of esteem, but this his modesty had urged him to waive, being content if his work had earned diocesan approbation. Now, at the close of his life, he felt it would be ungracious to resist, and sat by request to Mr. Ouless, R.A. for his portrait. This picture he left at once in a codicil to his will to be preserved at the Bishop's residence at Llandaff. The public presentation took place at Cardiff, November 30, 1882, Lord Aberdare, as chairman, speaking of his life and labours in generous terms.

In returning thanks, standing evidently on the threshold of the grave, he reviewed his Episcopate in solemn and weighty words; and alluding to the divestiture of Aaron's robes, breathed the prayer that every future Bishop might live with that solemn day of divestiture before his mind, and hand down his official robes unsullied to his successor.* This was his last appearance. The excitement and exertion proved too great, and his death followed on December 16, at the age of a little over eighty-three. A marble effigy by Mr. Armstead, R.A., on a tomb designed by Mr. J. Prichard, was erected by the diocese on the North side of the Altar steps. It was said by the Dean at the meeting inaugurating the movement "that though the actual words spoken of a Roman Emperor with regard to the Imperial City, that he found it of brick but left it of marble could not be used, yet it might be said of the Bishop in reference to the Cathedral, and it would be thought typical of the work also in the diocese, "*Squalidam invenit, Splendidam reliquit.*"†

We may fitly conclude this memoir with some written words of the speaker just quoted: "Yet far above all

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* *Western Mail*, December 1, 1882.

† *Western Mail*, March 31, 1883.

material proofs of diligence and usefulness, we must place the silent, but most real influence of the individuality of the man, as a living witness alike for truth and charity, a consistent example of the characteristic virtue of the Christian character, and a real 'Father in God' to all who dwelt within the sphere of his attraction. Long will that intellectual countenance, that graceful figure, that active step, that deep voice, that grave but kindly greeting, that eye undimmed and voice unabated by the fourscore years which he far overpassed, linger in the memory of his diocese—giving the strongest of all assurances to his honoured successor, that that diocese can appreciate the self-devotion of its rulers, and repay it with reverential love."*

Before him ever on his desk as he wrote, was a scroll bearing the motto,

"*Qualis vita-finis ita!*"

we may add,—

"*Finis coronat Opus!*"

The following lines were written for presentation to personal friends after the Bishop's death.

IN MEMORIAM.

A. Llandaff. Dec. xvi., mdccclxxxii.

Death on those lips hath sealed some hovering smile!
Those darkened eyes are turned to light within!
A gate to bliss that bed of pain erewhile!
"Well done" he hears: "Thou faithful! enter in!"

For burial shrouded on the bier he lies,
In robes that symbol his high Priesthood here:
And though all spotless to our mortal eyes,
Far whiter they to angels' gaze appear!

A trusty Shepherd of God's wandering sheep,
The thorny tracks with patient feet he trod,
Through rugged vale and up the toilsome steep,
That gather pilgrims to the breast of God.

* Preface to Diocesan Calendar, Dec. 1, 1883.

From classic haunts, where sister-Muses made
Their chosen home by Cam's long-honoured wave,
Twice duty called: and twice, that call obeyed,
His life and love to Wales the Saxon gave.

And warm Welsh hearts have loved that Saxon well:
And mellowing years have left his memory dear,
Whose life in drops of purest crystal fell;
Whose heart was tender, if his mien austere.

Speak! Towers of Llandaff! speak! Cathedral walls!
Of Church's spirit with its spires restored:
Speak! sister See! from thy fair College halls!
Of seed-time rich in harvest's golden hoard.

Speak! Bells that tinkle on the Sabbath-morn
In town or vale, or clangorous forge of gain!
Where'er that Church still slept its sleep forlorn,
Of him who breathed chill death to life again.

Unwearying labourer in the Vineyard's dust!
Father of countless scattered children: now
No cares can vex him: as some noble bust
Unstained and cloudless gleams the marble brow;

And sprinkled there, the snows of earthly years
In Heaven's clear light now glisten thousand-fold:
Shall we who linger wet that front with tears?
Nay! joy! his eyes the gates of pearl behold.

Though lost to us, from yonder Minster fair
Of British Bishops, that long-honoured face:
Though vacant now Dubritius', Teilo's chair:—
He's gone to seek on God's own breast his place.

But we, who mourn, must twine the loving wreath:
Not gloomy cypress; but of laurel green
That cheers the winter, making truce with death,
And links what is; with what, alas! hath been:

And bravely strive to follow onward: where
Our Father vanished—yet, no need to weep;
Through sun or shadow, still the stony stair
Climbs up to heaven: though rude the steps and steep.

J.E.O.

W. B. J.

There are, whom love
Inspires; who, as they move,
Diffuse an atmosphere serene,
By gentlest courtesy to wean
Our souls from every thought ungenerous, harsh or mean.

There are, whose eye
Scans all things low and high,
Wide ranging, yet exact and clear,
Amassing knowledge far and near,
Sifting what is from things, which are not but appear.

But there are few
Who blend in concert true
Keen insight and enduring love.
O! loved, revered! 'Twas thine to prove,
That light and love are one here, as in realms above.

(The Holy Days; Vignettes in Verse.
By J. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., HON. LL.D., G. ALLEN.)

Supplied by] [*Sparrell & Son, Carmarthen.*

BASIL JONES, D.D.
(Lord Bishop of St. David's, 1874—1897).

THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM BASIL JONES, D.D.

Born 1822; *educated at Shrewsbury and Trinity College, Oxford; Bishop of St. David's*, 1874—1896; *died* 1896.

By CANON GREGORY SMITH, *Woking, London.*

THE subject of this sketch deserves a place among the Welsh leaders of the Victorian era. He was for a time pupil at the Shrewsbury School under Dr. Benjamin Kennedy, one of the leading Greek scholars of his day. From Shrewsbury he went to Trinity College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a scholar. He was there an active member of the Architectural Society. This society had had rather a languid existence, but was greatly stimulated and strengthened by the archæological zeal of the "Oxford Movement." His share in the work of the society was mainly artistic and historical. His knowledge of architecture, and his devotion to the art while an undergraduate stood him in good stead in after years, for, as Bishop, he had to pass judgment upon various plans for the restoration of old churches, and the erection of new.

Although ordained deacon in 1848, Basil Jones decided to wait five years before taking priest's order. He responded to the invitation of the Archbishop of York (Thomson) to become his examining chaplain. He did excellent work not only as chaplain, but also as Vicar of Bishopsthorpe and Archdeacon of the West Riding. In 1874, he was called to succeed Bishop Connop Thirlwall, his "great predecessor," as he always styled him. While fully realising the great responsibility of his position as Bishop, he welcomed the opportunity, for he was born and bred in Cardigan, and he loved not only his Church, but the people of Wales irrespective of creed or class.

It soon became evident that the appointment was a wise one, for he proved himself to be a man of deep and wide culture, a prudent administrator, kind and accessible to his clergy, and friendly in his attitude towards those who differed from him.

When a great scholar undertakes the office of a Bishop this means almost always of necessity a farewell to literary work. As it was with Stubbs, Creighton, Gore, so it was with Basil Jones. He threw himself unreservedly into his new duties devoting himself to them conscientiously, with ardour quickened in his case by the patriotic instincts of a Welshman. "St. David's," he used to say, is about the largest and poorest of all the dioceses in this realm." It called for all his energy of self-devotion.

Basil Jones was never a party man; never *addictus jurare in verba magistri;* nor was he one in whom the pendulum swings violently from one side to the other. Even in the feverish controversies of his youthful days at Oxford, when not a few of the most promising men of his day were swept off their feet by the cataclysm, which, in the words of Goldwin Smith, "strewed its wrecks on every shore," he kept his footing. Like Temple, then at Baliol, afterwards Archbishop, he refrained from committing himself to any clique. In his Primary Charge (p. 15.) he spoke of the Oxford Movement as "containing a great deal of truth in directing men's minds to the Church as a 'divinely instituted society for the salvation of men,'" while he foresaw, as he believed, "results of a kind very dangerous to the peace and well-being of the Church." With Richard Hooker, of whom Arnold, of Rugby, by no means inclined to over-estimate English theology, always spoke with reverence as an original and profound thinker, Bishop Jones protested against any theory about the Holy Eucharist, which degraded it into a fetish, a charm.

The presence of the Christ in His ordinances, was to him, as to Hooker, real because spiritual, because not material; the blessing to the recipient spiritually real, a "strengthening and refreshing of the soul." In his last Charge he said: "I dislike excessive and minute ritual, especially in connection with the Holy Communion, which is to my mind far more impressively celebrated with the reverent simplicity used in our Church, than it is when accompanied by the ceremonial accessories, with which some are so anxious to surround it. But I know that other minds are differently constituted, and for such I feel bound to make allowance." * Thoroughly loyal himself, to the Prayer Book, he could yet respect and esteem true piety wherever and in whatever guise he found it.

Bishop Jones had not been long at Abergwili, before he restored, at his own cost, the chapel, a legacy from Archbishop Laud, who was sometime Bishop of St. David's. A curious memorandum in Laud's diary notes, that the chapel was consecrated "*die decollationis Sti. Joannis Baptistæ*," with the words added "*Absit omen!*"

Both officially and personally Bishop Jones always cherished a particular affection for Lampeter College. The selection of fit men for the important office of Principal always had his most careful attention; and Lampeter was, indeed, most fortunate in the selection. Whenever questions arose concerning the welfare of Lampeter, he never spared time or trouble. The mountain college was to him a miniature Oxford, and year by year he noticed thankfully an improved tone in the men coming to him from Lampeter for ordination. It was his aim, not without success, that Lampeter should not merely prepare men for taking Holy Orders, but should also provide a good general training, as is done at Oxford and

* Charge vi. p. 34.

Cambridge. He looked also, not unhopefully, to the younger foundations at Aberystwyth, Cardiff, etc., "as an endeavour to provide a liberal education." *

The unhappy dissidence between church and chapel, which throughout the land distracts and weakens what should be a vigorous and united effort against the powers of evil, is from several causes accentuated with peculiar emphasis in the Principality. Bishop Jones' Episcopate was conciliatory, without any compromise of principle. He was one who "spoke the truth in love." Steadfastly loyal to his own conscientious convictions as a Churchman, he respected the consciences of others, and was utterly free from rancour or acrimony. He realised that under disputes, too often noisy and unreasonable, too often about things of comparative insignificance, there lies the bedrock on which all earnest Christians stand, of substantial truth. Personally he endeavoured always to promote the goodwill and friendliness which ought to exist among followers of the same Saviour. He was in hope, at one time, of arranging a friendly conference of leading Nonconformists and Churchmen at Abergwili, and for this purpose he proffered hospitality freely. There seemed to be hindrances insurmountable not on his part. The clergy and laity of the diocese were always welcomed at the palace with the gracious courtesy which never failed him.

Bishop Jones was on the eve of resigning his See when he died. He had arranged a home for himself with Mrs. Basil Jones and the children at Gwynfryn, in Cardiganshire, where his father had resided. But it was not to be. He died at Abergwili in the latter days of 1896. Some time previously he had declined the offer of translation to another Welsh See. Like good Bishop Wilson, of the Isle of Man, he was faithful to his first love.

* Charge iii., p. 32.

In politics, as in theological controversies, Bishop Jones was no mere partisan. Never could that be said of him, which Oliver Goldsmith wrote of one of our greatest statesmen, that he,

> "Born for the universe narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

The rightness or wrongness of any movement, not the names of the persons associated with it, the measure not the men, these were what he considered. His leaning was to a Liberal Conservatism. On one very important point he held a very strong conviction. He was altogether for union, not for disintegration. Looking at the question from a Welsh standpoint, as one who loved Wales patriotically, he was impressed with the conviction that the prosperity of Wales depends greatly on Wales being bound up closely and permanently with the larger resources and fuller development of England. Looking at the question from a larger point of view, not mainly as a Welshman but as a citizen in a great confederacy, he saw that the infusion of the Celtic element into English life, in alliance with the Saxon, Danish, Norman elements, is the very thing to be desired. But he never obtruded his political opinions offensively, nor in any way unbecoming a minister of the Gospel. A clergyman, he would say, is out of place on a political platform or on an electioneering committee; but a clergyman, as citizen, has duties and responsibilities which demand the conscientious expression of his vote and influence.* In the same Charge (p. 30) speaking of Wales as "incorporated" with England, he added: "There is no distinction, legislative nor administrative, except that Wales has a larger proportionate share of the representation." Again, "Wales is neither geographically nor politically distinct from England; there is no ethnical

* Charge iv., p. 25.

distinction between Wales and England greater than between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland." * " Why should Wales," he would ask, " be treated separate from England any more than Cornwall or Cumberland ? "

In strict consistency with his political convictions he was even more determined in his opposition to the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales. He was in accord heartily with the burning words uttered in Parliament by Gladstone, who denounced the thought of tearing a limb from a living body. The four dioceses in Wales are the Bishop contended, an integral part of Christ's Church established in this realm, and he appealed to history.†

Why should not Yorkshire or Devon, he would ask, or any other English county be severed, politically and ecclesiastically, from the sister counties ? Why should the dismemberment stop short with Wales ? But he never imported any personal bitterness nor the rancour of partisanship into the controversy. Unflinching as guardian of a sacred trust, handed down to him and his fellow Churchmen from the dawn of Christianity in this island, he realised that the surest defence of the Church is in the fulfilment of her arduous duties, in the heart-whole devotion of her energies to the service of her Master. More practical, more real religion would, he saw, lift men above the wranglings of the hour, would draw them together round the Cross. He deprecated, as earnestly as he could, the intrusion of party politics into religion. He foresaw that Disestablishment, if it came, would be

* Charge xiv., 7.

† There is a curious instance of his familiarity with history in one of his Charges (iv., p. 31.) where he refers to the fact that representatives in Parliament were summoned for the first time from Wales and Durham simultaneously.

a blow "to Christianity at large. The Church would recover in time; the Nonconformist organisations would be ground to powder." * He feared it more for the nation than for the Church. He foresaw that Disestablishment would mean not only the renouncement by the nation of the acknowledgment of Christianity, but also the taking away of spiritual help provided for those who cannot provide it for themselves. While always endeavouring to draw close the ties which attach Wales to England, he was always on the watch, that a Welsh-speaking parish should have a Welsh-speaking clergyman.

The experience of life is for ever teaching that there must be a continual adaptation of principles to the circumstances of the time. In other words, what is vital and essential must be guarded jealously; the particular mode of applying the principle must be governed by consideration of what is really practicable. This was the Bishop's policy on the Burials Question in 1880. The keenness of that controversy, the eagerness on both sides of Churchmen and Nonconformists, read now like ancient history. It is easier now than it was then to see that the Bishop was not without justification for believing, that the Burials Act, instead of proving injurious to the Church, would even be serviceable, as things are. When some argued that the way to the church lay through the churchyard, and that a claim would next be pressed for Nonconformist ministers to officiate in Church, the Bishop's answer was, that by removing a plausible, and to some extent a real, grievance, the further claim would be shown to be unreasonable. He believed that by considerateness on the part of Church people and by this reasonable concession Nonconformists would be more likely to be drawn back to the Church, and that in this sense (a more hopeful

* Charge iv., p. 20.

interpretation of the words), "the way back" to the Church lay through the churchyard. He subsequently to the Charge addressed a letter to incumbents in the diocese, advising them how best to carry the Act into operation.

On the other point, the promotion of studious habits among the clergy, the Bishop was helpful in providing a sound and solid education at Lampeter and elsewhere. He insisted, in his Second Visitation for instance, that the old Grammar Schools ought to be fostered and developed —that they are, in fact, the key to the position. He valued highly Llandovery and other schools of the kind. He was instrumental in founding a High School for Girls in Carmarthen. Knowing well that the Education Question turns most of all on the fitness of the teacher, he pleaded earnestly for more support to the Training College there. He discouraged, and after a time discontinued the ordination of Literates; and he required candidates for examination, without a degree from the older Universities or Lampeter, to pass the Cambridge Preliminary examination.

The Church of England has deep cause for thankfulness in the high character intellectually and morally of her prelates. Measured even by this exacting standard Basil Jones stands prominent. His almost dying words to the Church which he loved dearly in "God's Message to Wales," were "the Message of Charity, Truthfulness, Purity." What better message could come through dying lips to those who are very dear?

It was a life of brilliant talents consecrated to high and holy purposes.

APPENDIX:

Some Ordination Addresses by W. BASIL JONES, D.D.,
Late Bishop of St. David's.
(Mowbray & Co.)

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IX. CONTROVERSY.

DEAN COTTON.

schools beyond his eightieth year, and who, could it be possible that he should survive until the year 1880, would desire nothing more than he should depart, sitting amidst the children under his care, with the Book of God in his hand, and the words of God in his mouth.

"In the times succeeding, some persons still held objections to the instruction of the poor in reading, which were grounded on passion and prejudice, rather than on principle. In arguing with one of these persons who objected to National Schools, I said, 'There is now a flood upon the earth which will either produce inundation or irrigation. If you direct it aright it will irrigate the soil; if you let it have its own way, it will inundate the earth.' Another objected to infant schools, saying they encouraged early marriages; I answered, that I gave him credit for having uttered the severest satire against absurd excuses."

Dean Cotton neither regarded trouble, distance nor expense. He offered his willing aid and ready co-operation, even in the most outlandish districts. He travelled over the whole Diocese annually to hold meetings to plead the "cause of elementary education," and to encourage teachers, whom he always befriended in every way, and they found in him a tower of strength in the face of many and formidable discouragements. Dean Cotton, as "unpaid inspector," as he styled himself, drew up and circulated reports at his own expense of the state and progress of the schools in Bangor Diocese, and he was the founder of the Bangor Diocesan Board of Education.

During the long years of devoted labour in advancing the cause of popular education, no one was ever able to point to a single instance in which Dean Cotton had abused or perverted his influence for any personal

partisan or collateral end whatever. Large numbers of Nonconformist children were educated in Church schools during his time, many of whom received their first impressions of religion then, which they willingly accepted: and not a few of them are swift to acknowledge their obligations in this respect to the "Old Mother." In this, as in other matters, there are some who repudiate any such obligation, although they have been educated in Church schools; nay, have become her enemies. Of such the Church may, with reason, complain, as the Prophet of old did: "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me."

One of the most distinguished of Dean Cotton's "Old Boys" was the late Rev. Owen Thomas, D.D., of Liverpool, the eminent Welsh Methodist minister. It is refreshing to reflect, in these days of bitter strife and misrepresentation, on the happy relations existing between the Dean and the boys educated in the schools which he founded. He took a deep interest in their welfare, and helped to advance them in their several callings in life, and used to speak of them with pride. Writing to his brother, Dr. Owen Thomas says: "I think you ought, in connection with the Temperance Society at Bangor, to make respectful mention of the name of Mr., afterwards Dean, Cotton. He became very willingly, at its first foundation, one of its supporters, and was appointed its president, a position which he heartily accepted; and he made every effort to be present at all the meetings, which were held in the National schoolroom, the free use of which he granted to us. Mr. Cotton was in earnest for the cause of temperance, and gave much of his time in its service. He prepared a form of prayer to be used by us at the opening of the meetings; and if, for some cause, he was unable to be present himself, he

would be sure to send me the prayer, desiring me to lead the service with it."

To return to the subject of founding national schools. Sordid minds urged the expenditure incident to the work as a sufficient reason against the undertaking. To such minds it was incomprehensible why the Dean devoted so much of his time and money—and he was by no means a rich man—to promote a cause which brought him no personal gain whatever, beyond the approving testimony of the good man's conscience of having done his duty. And this to him was the greatest reward of all. He used to say: "As long as I receive the Church's pay I will continue to do the work of the Church." And this he did, in the fullest sense: for he not only founded and maintained schools, but he often sat for hours teaching the children. This he did cheerfully as a labour of love: but the great want of duly qualified and trained teachers was long felt by the Dean as a serious obstacle to his work, many of them being, as he used to say, "like teapots, which would make good tea, but could not pour it;" possessing natural ability, but lacking the faculty and aptness to impart knowledge, and still more of them without any education to fit them for teaching others. During the long period of his experience as "unpaid inspector" he came in contact with a great variety of teachers of all sorts and conditions. In reviewing their qualifications, he used to say that the male portion were invariably drawn from three classes: "bankrupt tradesmen, fraudulent excisemen, and sailors or cattle-drovers who had learnt a little English in foreign parts."

The Dean made the best use possible of the teaching power at his disposal. The advance of elementary education under trained teachers touched the teachers of private schools, because it meant that many of their

pupils would be drawn into the elementary schools by their improved condition. But it is due to the private teachers to say that the cause of education had no better friends than many of them proved to be. On the other hand, it affected hundreds of wretchedly poor and incompetent teachers in the old dames' schools and such-like institutions, who could not fail to see that the advance of elementary education under trained teachers would be to them what the dawn is to night birds. Dean Cotton in his pamphlet in defence of Welsh elementary schools says: "The following may be given as a specimen of the English dame schools in England. In a village in one of the western counties, a Dame thus addressed one of her pupils, called Nanny Norbury: 'Nanny Norbury, you be a big buzzard, you never knows nothink, and aw the Norburys they bin aw big buzzards, they never knowd nothink.' Nanny Norbury soon confirmed the truth of the Dame's remark, as respected herself, by stumbling over a long word. The instructress, being as unable to utter it, or comprehend it, as was her pupil, cut the matter short, by saying, "Skip o'er it, wench, skip o'er it: 'tis a big word that you and Oi (you and I) shall niver want" (want sounded with the *open a*).

As "unpaid inspector" of schools, Dean Cotton had a long and varied experience, and he fully appreciated and sympathised with Welsh children in their difficulties in acquiring a knowledge of English. In a letter on education in Wales, the Dean wrote: "The office of an examiner, however honestly he may be disposed, is not so easy an office as some persons imagine: especially if called upon to examine children in a foreign tongue, 'not understanded of the people,' of which people the children form a part. Both the examiner and examined

are placed in a difficult position. Imagine a case: Suppose yourself transferred to some very obscure village school in the heart of England: you are told that the children are instructed in the French or the German tongue (as it may be), and you are told also that their instructor in this tongue is an Englishman who never had quitted his own country. You are called upon to examine the children in this foreign tongue: you being, as we will presume, a perfect master of that tongue: what, I ask, what expectations would you form? How would you approach them? Now, this is just the position in which the Welsh children stand with respect to their teachers—their teachers with respect to them—and the inspectors or examiners with respect to both. The children in Wales speak the British language: think in the British tongue: converse with their parents and with each other in the British language: attend divine service, and for the most part respond in the British language. The greater part of them never hear or utter a word of English, but during the hours of instruction, and within the walls of the school! Go to the schools of Eton, Westminster, Winchester etc., and ask the masters of those schools, whether they will impose upon themselves and their pupils this task—viz.: The conducting of the whole instruction of their respective schools through the medium of those languages alone in which they are instructing their pupils? Are they prepared to ask every child, commencing his studies in the Latin or Greek grammar questions in those languages? and are they prepared to receive correct answers in those languages? Nay, to state the case with more license, are the masters of our First Grammar Schools in the habit of conversing with the pupils of the highest grade in Greek and Latin only? Is nothing but Greek and Latin spoken within the walls of our colleges? But

the Welsh child, in learning English, is under great disadvantages. No two languages differ more entirely than do the British and English languages. They differ greatly in the power of their respective letters: in respect of idiom, accentuation, and general construction.

* * * * *

"See then, the position in which the examiner stands with respect to his pupil, and his pupil in respect to him. The examiner has never seen the child before, nor the child the examiner. The child has never heard the tone of the examiner's voice; his tone is foreign, and his accent is foreign. They who have not studied acoustics know not how much there is in the music of a voice. Again his manner is foreign; the disposition of his words is foreign. There is much in all this. Again the examiner will have to adopt his manner to, and make device of, words familiar to the people of the country to which his commission extends. The Cheshire man, though 'chief of men,' must not be sent to Cornwall, nor must the Cornish man be sent to Cumberland, nor he of Cumberland to Cornwallia. Now, if the man of Cheshire or Cumberland should not have his commission in Cornwallia, how much less so in Wallia Magna?

* * * * *

"Imagine a case in some obscure country school, amidst the mountains of Wales: a school situated in a parish, in length twelve miles, in breadth two; or another embracing within its boundaries 30,000 acres, more extensive but more compact! (for such parishes there are); in such cases, 'the children of the mist,' are often 'mist' when they should be present. Can you wonder, sir, that the Atlantic, borne upon the wings of the wind, and bearing down upon the huts of David Davies and John Jones, for six, sometimes twelve, and

even eighteen hours together, should deter those persons from sending their children two, three, or four miles, to meet the pelting of the pitiless storm, this 'drwg hin,' or 'dryc hin' (which you may translate ducking) with no omnibus in the eye, no umbrella in hand, no house by the way, with no living object, either animal or vegetable, to console them, save a bush not big enough to hide a bird, or a patient cow, with her tail turned to the tempest, or the lowly sheep sheltering under the projection of a shelving stone: or some bad bent birch brooms, few and far between, the 'counterfeit presentment' of would be wood, to stand or sit all day in his wet clothes, with his bread and butter in his pocket, reduced to pudding, or to puddle, or to pulp! Or, again, suppose the weather is bright, has the poor cottager or the little farmer, who is, indeed, little more than a cottager, nothing to do which renders the assistance of his children necessary? 'Where is Owen Owens to-day?' says the master. 'She is gone to Carnedd Dafydd (or Trawsfynydd, as it may be) if you please,' says William Williams, 'to look after the seeps; a tog has tored wan of a seeplegs very pad; her is lame, and she is bringing him home.' The master again inquires, 'Where is Grace Griffith?' 'He is gone to brought some ool (wool) from little way up Bryneryri (Snowdon, about 3,000 feet), and she say he will sure come in morning.'"

Space will not permit us to make further extracts from this highly interesting pamphlet on "Education in Wales," written by Dean Cotton about sixty years ago: but the above will suffice to show how thoroughly the Dean entered into all the difficulties—many of them physical difficulties in the wilds of Wales—Welsh children have to encounter in the pursuit of knowledge during the greater part of the Victorian era.

With reference to the bilingual difficulty Welsh children have to contend with, the Dean observes: "We are aware that in those words in the English language, beginning with the letters *kn*, the English have suppressed the letter *k*, and read those words as if that letter had no power, nor possessed any part of those words. Thus have they confounded (as it respects the ear) several words, giving them the same sound as other words which have a totally different sense. As, for instance, *nave* for *knave; nap* for *knap; no* for *know; nose* for *knows; night* for *knight; need* for *knead; not* for *knot*, etc.

"Thus they have broken the back of these words and drawn out their spinal marrow. They stand, indeed, but not erect, they have frail bodies without souls, or shadows without substance; putting us much in mind of the play of 'Hamlet,' in which the part of Hamlet was omitted 'by particular desire.'

"Thus also they have sacrificed the *onomatopeia*, and thus the sound is lost which should echo the sense as in the words, knap, knife, knit, knob, knock, know, etc. Now in the Welsh language, the hard *c*, which is equivalent in sound to the English *k*, is retained in all its power. Can we wonder, then, if the letter in the following Welsh words, *cneifid, cnap, cnau, cnawd, cnoi, cnu*, etc., should convey the sound into English words in which the same sound was originally acknowledged? The English, indeed, have relinquished the proper sound of these words, while the Welsh have retained it.

"I have given a reason and have made an excuse for the Welsh child in using the letter *k*, when preceding the letter *n*. I wish I could make as good an excuse for certain orders of the English, in the perpetual misapplication of the letter *h*. From this fault (the English

shibboleth) the Welsh are entirely free. The Welsh child never perverts the meaning of words, nor alters the sense of passages by omitting or supplying this letter. In the description of the awards made by Pharoah to his servants, we are satisfied that the following version is correct, as applying to the chief baker, 'and him he hanged.' I have, however, heard the following reading in English, 'Han 'im 'e 'anged.' No Welsh child was ever guilty of such a perversion of the account of the baker's fate as would make him worthy of the same, 'Ere is the hare, come let us kill 'im.' Accustomed as I am to hear the reading of Welsh children, I confess that I have a prejudice in favour of the *received version*. Welsh children do not crush *heaven* into *eaven*: nor exalt *earth* into *hearth*. They do not mistake the letter *l* for *hell*: nor make an *n* lay heggs. They permit the owl to be an owl, since a hoot, not a howl, is its natural cry. Every *horseman* is not a *Norseman* in the esteem of the Welsh child. The substantive *ear* is not the verb *hear* in his part of speech: nor again, the substantive *eye*, the adjective *high*. Nor is a *high hill* necessarily a nigh ill, especially in Wales. The Welsh child never yet mistook the letter *a* for dried grass commonly called *hay*, though I have been told that such a mistake has been made in the neighbourhood of St. James's Park. The meekest maiden of our Welsh infant schools could not be taught to sympathise with the London hairdresser, who lamented that the prevailing epidemic was in the *hair:* correcting, however, the mistake to which he led his companion, by saying, 'not the *air* of the *ead*, but the *hair* of the *hatmosphere*.' It must be allowed, however, that there is a close connection between the *hair* and the *hat*. In short, Welsh children dare to say, and do, what the English children can neither say

nor do. They can repeat the following well-known line:—

"How high his highness holds his haughty head."

Dean Cotton lived to see a revolution in the matter of school teachers. In contrasting the unsatisfactory state of things during the earlier part of his life with the great improvement affected towards the close of his career, the Dean acknowledged, with thankfulness, how much a higher sense of duty influenced the trained and duly educated teachers of this later period, which he had been spared to witness, chiefly as the fruit of his labours, together with those of the late Canon Thomas, rector of Llanrhaiadr, then Vicar of Carnarvon. Dean Cotton was the prime mover in the founding of the Training College at Carnarvon in 1846. In moving a resolution to that effect at a meeting held in that year at the National School, Carnarvon, the Dean said: "I do not know why the secretaries have given me this resolution to propose, I suppose it must be owing to the position I hold in the Church. But here, again, I am frequently at a loss, for I would have you know, gentlemen, that I am Rural Dean as well as City Dean. But one thing I trust will never take place, and that is, for my rusticity to overcome or drive away my urbanity." Throughout his life Dean Cotton was a very warm and liberal supporter of this institution, feeling as he did how important a step it was towards raising the tone of education, to train and educate fit and proper persons as teachers. He used to attend the annual gatherings of schoolmasters, at which he addressed those assembled, giving them the results of his own experience as a promoter and "unpaid inspector" of schools. Since the date of its foundation to the present day the number of teachers trained in this

college is over 1,100. Many of these became distinguished clergymen, after a successful career at the University and other Colleges of the Church of England. In 1894 the college was removed to Bangor. How Dean Cotton's heart would have rejoiced had he been permitted to live to see the magnificent block of buildings standing on the rocky eminence overlooking the city in which he had toiled for upwards of half a century in the work of elementary education. What a contrast Bangor of to-day, with its University and other Colleges, presents to the following description of the old city drawn by Dean Cotton towards the close of his life. The words were spoken in response to the presentation of an address and Family Bible by the children of the Bangor National Schools as a testimony of their great love and esteem.

"My dear children,—I was quite unprepared for the kind salutations which you have just given me, and what I shall have to say, will be more from the heart than the head: but what comes from the heart goes through my head also. You have been pleased to esteem me as your benefactor. I have now been here 50 years—being 79 years of age next birthday. The establishment of this institution owes its existence more to circumstances than to any merit which I possess. It came under the auspices of the Bishop in that day, who was my father-in-law, and what I then did, I did subject to his approval. When this room was built, the town consisted of a few houses, and very few persons understood the English language: and I well remember what the Bishop said to me when this room was first opened. "Well, this room," said he, "can never be filled," and having a tendency to be a little jocular, I said it was like John Gilpin's wig, sure to fit if made large enough

It has since proved too small, if it was then thought to be too large."

Dean Cotton died May 28, 1862, at the Deanery, Bangor, and was buried with his first wife under the shadow of the south transept window of the old cathedral wherein he had ministered for upwards of half a century, and wherein his form and voice were so familiar. I remember, as a boy, attending the funeral. I shall never forget the scene. The cathedral and churchyard were crowded with sorrowing friends. Dissenters as well as Churchmen acknowledged if any one deserved a heavenly reward it was he who was that day laid to rest " in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." There was hardly a single person present in that immense crowd which surrounded the Dean's grave to whom he had not, in some way or other, been a guide, philosopher and friend. There he sleeps in the valley of the old city he loved so well. Standing by his grave lately, the bells of St. James' Church,—built as a memorial to the Dean—chimed a merry peal. It seemed a fitting Requiem of this faithful servant of Christ, and to speak of the immortality into which he has entered.

ARCHDEACON JOHN WILLIAMS
Cardigan.

JOHN WILLIAMS, ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN.

By the REV. ROBERT WILLIAMS, M.A., LLANDILO.

"The best schoolmaster in Europe."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

Born 1792; *matriculated Balliol College, Oxford,* 1810; *B.A. 1st class in literis humanioriobus,* 1814; *Headmaster's Assistant, Winchester School, Ordained d. and p.* 1814—1818; *Assistant Master, Hyde Abbey School, Winchester,* 1818—1820; *Vicar of Lampeter,* 1820—1833; *and Headmaster of Lampeter Gr. School,* 1820—1824; *Rector of Edinburgh Academy (first period),* 1824—1828; *and (second period),* 1829—1847; *Titular Professor of Latin, University College, London,* 1827-8; *Archdeacon of Cardigan,* 1833 (*re-instituted* 1835)—1858; *M.A.* 1838; *Warden of Llandovery,* 1848—1853; *engaged chiefly in literary work,* 1853—1858; *died Dec.* 27, 1858.

Principal literary works :—

(1) "Two Essays on the Geography of Ancient Asia: intended partly to illustrate the campaigns of Alexander the Great and the Anabasis of Xenophon." London, 1829, 8vo.

(2) "The Life and Actions of Alexander the Great" (Vol. 2 of Murray's Family Library), London, 1829, 12mo. New York, 18mo. 3rd ed. London, 1860.

(3) "Homerus," London, 1842.

(4) "Claudia and Pudens," Llandovery, 1848, 8vo.

(5) "The Life of Julius Cæsar," London, 1854, 8vo.

(6) "Gomer; or a Brief Analysis of the Language and Knowledge of the Ancient Cymry," London, 1854, 8vo. (Parts i and ii).

(7) "Discourses and Essays on the Unity of God's Will," London 1857, 8vo.

(8) "Essays on Various Subjects—Philological, Philosophical, Ethnological, and Archæological," London, 1858, 8vo.

(9) Various papers and Essays in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Quarterly Review, Cambrian Journal, &c.

THE subject of this article was the son of the Rev. John Williams, the pupil and the successor (in 1778) of Edward Richard, headmaster of the eighteenth century grammar school of Ystradmeurig, his mother being Jane, daughter of Lewis Rogers, of Gelli, who had been High Sheriff of Cardiganshire in 1753.

When John Williams, the younger, was born (on April 11, 1792) the state of education in Wales was far from satisfactory. Ystradmeurig School, however, had risen superior to the "struggling ghosts of grammar schools" around. Indeed, so distinctly was this the case, that it occupied the position of leading school in the country. So that the son, from his earliest infancy, was reared in an atmosphere of classical learning and tradition. The language, literature and history of ancient Greece and Rome were made the basis of his education; and the building up of that education was both careful and continuous. Moreover, nearly all the members of his family had a deep interest in the various aspects of culture and scholarship.

In his father's school John Williams showed signs of mental quickness amounting to precocity. Reaching the highest form at the age of 15, he became, for a short time, pupil-assistant to the Rev. Thomas Horn (an old Westminster scholar) at the Chiswick Grammar School. Returning to Ystradmeurig as assistant to his brother, now headmaster of the school, he won a scholarship at the Ludlow Grammar School. Here, however, he remained but a short time, proceeding to Balliol College, Oxford, where he matriculated Nov. 30, 1810.

At Balliol he had congenial spirits for his fellow-undergraduates, and the friendships which he found in college had the greatest possible influence upon his character and career. "The central friendship," says

Mr. Andrew Lang, "was quadrilateral, as in Dumas's famous novel."

For the final classical school in 1814 Williams is said to have offered an extraordinarily wide range of books, and his examination is described as "triumphant." He was placed in the first class with four companions, among them being Thomas Arnold, the famous headmaster and second founder of Rugby School, the *doyen* of English public school headmasters.

Brought up, as he had been, in close contact with teachers and teaching, it was natural that Williams should adopt for himself the career of a schoolmaster. He became headmaster's assistant to Henry Dison Gabell in the great foundation of William of Wykeham at Winchester, where he remained four years. At this time he was ordained to the ministry of the Church, his title being the curacy of Durley. In 1818 he left Winchester School, but remained in the city as assistant to the brothers George and Charles Richards, both old Etonians, at the Hyde Abbey School. His association with the Richardses was fruitful to his scholarship. Here, among other things, he is said to have learnt to turn out Sapphic and Alcaic odes and Ovidian elegiacs. Moreover, he must have learnt something of the method and traditions of a third great English public school—Eton—of which his superiors were *alumni*: Winchester he had served directly for four years, and, before his University life began, as a boy, he had been connected, at Chiswick, with a representative of the great foundation at Westminster.

Nowhere did method and spirit more urgently require a change in matters of education than in Wales. Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St. David's since 1803, was profoundly dissatisfied with the state of things, and in looking for a clergyman to succeed Eliezer Williams as Vicar of

Lampeter, in 1820, it is not too much to say that he was even more anxious to secure an efficient successor as head of the Lampeter Grammar School, an important institution which Eliezer Williams had practically refounded in 1805. The Bishop's voluntary choice fell upon John Williams, who left Winchester to take up his double position of parish priest and schoolmaster, in the little town on the banks of the Teifi.

Williams's return to Wales synchronised with a new movement in Welsh education. Burgess had for some time been preparing for the foundation of a college, primarily as a place of higher education for the future clergy of the Welsh Church. The Bishop's plans seem to have varied a good deal from time to time. At first an enlargement of Ystradmeurig was thought of; then it was proposed to set up a new college at Llanddewi Brefi; but ultimately it was decided that the new foundation should be at Lampeter. Tradition attributes the *locale* to Williams's influence, and it is not improbable that he aspired to the principalship. When the foundation stone was laid in 1823 he preached the sermon, taking for his text Mal. ii. 7: "The priest's lips should keep knowledge." When, however, the principalship came to be filled, Williams was no longer resident in Wales, for in 1824 he accepted the position of first Rector of the Edinburgh Academy. But even had he not left, it is not probable that the choice would have fallen upon him, The confidence which induced Bishop Burgess to invite him to Lampeter and the cordial relations existing between them in 1820 were not maintained. A coolness arose, upon the cause of which the letters of contemporaries only serve to throw a very partial light.

When Williams came to Lampeter he was 28 years of age, "a very pleasant, communicative man, short, stout,

marked with small pox, and of an active, lively disposition." "He speaks Welsh tolerably well, and is desirous of promoting the study of the Welsh language." "His strict and punctual attention to the school," in a short time, "worked a great reformation in the conduct of the scholars, particularly the indolent and obstinate ones." The headmaster "was fully determined to adhere to the English mode of regularity in teaching."

Among his Lampeter pupils were Welsh boys of conspicuous ability, like Rice Rees, the author of "*An Essay on Welsh Saints*," while the belief in his power, with which he had inspired his Oxford contemporaries, brought others from afar. Chief among these was Charles, son of Sir Walter Scott. Charles Scott went to Lampeter in November, 1820. Writing in that month Sir Walter says:

> "Charles seems most admirably settled. I had a most sensible letter on the subject from Mr. Williams, who appears to have taken great pains and to have formed a very just conception both of his merits and foibles."

And again in March, 1821:

> "Charles's last letter was uncommonly steady, and prepared me for one from Mr. Williams, in which he expresses satisfaction with his attention and with his progress in learning in a much stronger degree than formerly. This is truly comfortable, and may relieve me from the necessity of removing the poor boy to India."

Soon, however, the note of satisfaction changes. Williams is accused of "fickleness" and "inattention." The scholars are "uneasy" and talk "of going home." The explanation is that the master was too much given to "sporting." Perhaps the truth is that, placed in

small surroundings, he himself being by far the greatest man in the place, he committed the fatal mistake of despising his work. The schoolmaster-vicar, however, took an active part in the duties of citizenship. In October, 1820, he became a burgess, and a year later he was appointed Portreeve for the Manor Borough, Town and Lordship of Llanbedr.

In 1824 the idea of Henry, Lord Cockburn, largely through the influence of Sir Walter Scott, led to the founding of the Edinburgh Academy. In Scotland for some time there had been an increasing uneasiness about education. "There was a fear that all the upper classes might send their sons to be educated in England." And there was also the apprehension that classical education would die out in the country and that the utilitarian spirit would swamp culture. Those interested in the movement "called to their aid an eminent classical scholar from the South," and John Williams became the first Rector of the Edinburgh Academy. This position he filled with conspicuous ability and success for 22 years, and it was here that his reputation was really made. At the opening of the Academy, October 1, 1824, Sir Walter Scott presided, and in his address he quoted the famous saying of Dr. Johnson that, in learning Scotland was like a besieged city, where "every man had a mouthful, none a bellyful."

The Academy rendered an enormous service in raising the general standard of scholarship and in broadening the foundations of education in Scotland. The admiration of Sir Walter Scott for the teaching abilities of the Rector was boundless. The Wizard of the North called him "a heaven-born" teacher, and in his excess of feeling, letting his language express more than he could possibly know, he did not hesitate to say that he was "the best schoolmaster in Europe."

In Edinburgh society as well as in Scottish education Williams was a prominent figure. At a time when "the *literati* of the northern capital were men of mental vigour and sparkling genius, he brought into the intellectual arena a wit as choice and an intellect as powerful as possessed by any of that wonderful generation of Scotchmen."

In college, and since, his most intimate friends had been nearly all Scotsmen. In their conversation and in their letters his earlier associates wrote and spoke of him with affectionate familiarity. Knowing all his weaknesses and faults, they nevertheless showed a disposition to seek his advice and to defer to his judgment.

In affectionate banter his young comrades bestowed upon him many nick-names. Sometimes he was "Cadwallader," sometimes "Caradoc," but more often "Taffey" or the "Welshman." "You and the Welshman are my only true and faithful correspondents," Lockhart wrote to Christie in the autumn of 1813. And again in November, 1814, the same writer says that he has heard from Williams, who, he doubts not, will yet "rise in the world by means of his strong head and inflexible power of nailing himself to any rough piece of timber that comes in his way."

In 1815 Lockhart, referring to a recent meeting between Christie and Williams, writes: "Not to mention other good qualities, I think his sort of steady spirits render him a most valuable companion. What other people effect by politeness and painstaking he does by nature. . . I don't know what I would not have given to spend Christmas with the Welshman and you."

As Rector of the Academy, as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and as one who took a lively interest in all social, scientific and literary matters, he came

in contact with many famous men. The greatest man in Scotland was Sir Walter Scott, whose opinion of Williams has already been quoted, and in whose one Welsh tale—"The Betrothed"—the influence of Williams may be traced. When the author of Waverley died, it was the Rector who read the burial service over his remains in Dryburgh Abbey, in 1832. Beside Scott and Lockhart there were also, at various times, Lord Cockburn, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Lord Jeffrey, Sir William Hamilton, Dr. Chalmers and Carlyle. "With his ample scholarship, his active intellect and powerful memory, conscious of his strength and social in his disposition, he sat daily among his juniors in the Academy Lodge, with much to impart, and, touching Scottish matters, something perhaps to learn; discussing all subjects, ancient and modern, classical and profane, ready with his information, his aid or his advice, while his colleagues were interested and stimulated by his conversation, and fully prepared to support him in promoting the ends for which the institution was formed. The power was surely not the less enviable because it was exercised among men of spirit, with a strong sense of personal responsibility." When the Academy, in 1874, celebrated her Jubilee, in verses written specially to be sung on the occasion, the first Rector was referred to in these lines—

"There are those here who remember how, in chair of learned state,
As monarch o'er his little band the sage Archdeacon sate;
And though he thought in native Welsh, 'twas easy to translate
The kindly words of wisdom that filled the curly pate
Of that pride of the Academy, the Queen of Scottish Schools."

It is true that in conversation with friends "Punch" Williams (as he was sometimes called in the Academy) was inclined to be over dogmatic and to regard grown-up company much in the same light as he did Academy

boys. "He possessed," said Archbishop Tait, an old pupil, "a strong opinion of his own great powers; but his high appreciation of his own abilities had in it nothing of the conceit of the mere pedant. He was a man, a real man; he taught as none but a man of great intellectual power could teach, and he fascinated his pupils as none but a man of feeling could fascinate those with whom he had to do. He was a man of depth of feeling which he ever showed in the love of his pupils and in the way in which he taught them to be masters. Despotic and fiery, his good humour was proof against petty irritation. His treatment of his pupils was in harmony with his open and unaffected character, which was, perhaps, the reason why he had no trouble in keeping order, seldom if ever inflicting punishment, and, at the worst, pulling a boy's ears or sending him out into the yard or to his house for the rest of the day."

"The Rector's eye was often on his boys at play, and by this means he became acquainted with their character. This accounted for his occasionally making observations in the school which were puzzling, as no one was able to guess how he came by the knowledge which he possessed." "He had a curious habit when in good humour of rubbing down his knees with his hands, a custom which issued in a fine polish like satin being imparted to his trousers."

His method of teaching is thus described by an eye-witness: "In Rector Williams's class we heard Virgil and Livy admirably translated *ad aperturam libri* and, what I thought remarkable, the Rector giving the English, the pupils returning the Latin with singular dexterity, not exactly as in the original, but by synonyms which showed that the exercise referred to

the judgment and did not depend on the memory. I could not help saying with great truth that as we had all along known how much the pupils were fortunate in a Rector, so we were now taught that the Rector was equally lucky in his pupils. He left lasting marks of his success as a scholar and a teacher, not only on his own immediate pupils, but on the whole of Scotland." A large number of boys, destined to become distinguished men, were taught by him at the Academy, among them being Archibald Campbell Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Principal Shairp, of St. Andrews, James Clerk Maxwell, W. E. Aytoun, Professor Sellar, Frederick Robertson, of Brighton, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, and W. E. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin.

In August, 1827, acting without adequate thought, Williams accepted the Professorship of Latin in the new University College, London, a position which he resigned in something like a panic in the following year, before entering upon the duties of the office. The reason of the resignation was simple. The bishops and the high church party were antagonistic to the "secular" policy of the new foundation, and their opposition issued in the foundation, in 1828, of King's College. Williams's resignation of the Rectorship was a bitter disappointment to Scott, who described it as "a shot in the wing" of the Academy, "for he is a heaven-born teacher." In February, 1828, Williams dined with Scott who writes:—"We had a long philological *tête-à-tête*. He [Williams] is opinionated, as he has some title to be, and with a juster view of this subject than is commonly entertained, for he traces words to the same source, not from sound, but from sense."

When Scott heard that Williams had resigned the London professorship, he was surprised and grieved.

"Both the bishops and Williams have been unwise. The former have manœuvred ill. They should, in the outset, have taken the institution out of the hands of the Whigs without suffering them to reinforce themselves by support from [others]. And Williams was equally precipitate in joining an institution which a small degree of foresight might have assured him would be opposed by his spiritual superiors. However, there he stands, deprived of his Professorship by his resignation and of his Rectorship by our having engaged with a successor. I think it very doubtful whether the bishops will now admit him to their alliance. He has, in that case, offended both parties. But if they are wise they will be glad to pick up the best schoolmaster in Europe, though he comes for the present *Graia ex urbe.*"

For some weeks at this point of time, the correspondence between Scott and Lockhart is "desolated" by the constant reference to the affairs of "Taffey" Williams. Out of those affairs Scott evolved the one piece of philosophy that "no schoolmaster whatsoever has existed without his having some private reserve of extreme absurdity." However, "Taffey" had the luck to fall on his feet, for, after a year's break, he was reinstated in the Rectorship.

In 1833 he was appointed Archdeacon of Cardigan, but by reason of some informality in this institution the process had to be repeated in 1835.

In 1840 the See of St. David's became vacant by the death of John Banks Jenkinson, and Williams, apparently with some reason, expected to receive the appointment. When, however, the nomination of Connop Thirlwall was announced, he was not only bitter in his disappointment, but querulous and undignified in his expression of what he considered to be his wrongs. In a letter

printed at length in Mr. Eyre Evans's excellent volume on Lampeter, he describes himself as "the only Welsh scholar of considerable name for the last century" who has been subjected to "shameful treatment" at the hands of his "English superiors." His faith is in Sir Benjamin Hall as a man of power and influence.

Doubtless he was a sufferer from the "anglicising policy" of the times. But in estimating the reality and the extent of his wrongs, we must not forget that down to 1840 his services to the Welsh Church had been of the slightest description.

Nor does he appear to have been a very profound believer in the doctrines and principles of the Church of which he was a minister. When his great "disappointment" occurred, he had been first for nine years the non-resident Vicar of Lampeter, and afterwards, for at least five, the non-resident Archdeacon of Cardigan. Nor had he as yet rendered any tangible service to his country in a wider sense. True, he took the interest of a fine scholar in her language, literature and history; but it would be hazardous to say that he had rendered Wales the service of a loyal and patriotic son, whose abilities and opportunities had been conspicuous.

Moreover, his ideals of a Welsh bishop were not high. "If a man seek the office of a bishop he desireth a good work." Williams made at least the initial mistake of desiring it as a post of "learned leisure." It has been the misfortune of Wales that the patriotism of her sons is louder when there is something to get than when there is something to give. The Celt is even inclined to forget that they are not

> "Empty hearted whose low sound
> Reveals no hollowness."

It was not till 1848 that an opportunity was found for

the Archdeacon to return to Wales. Education in Wales was again a subject of dissatisfaction and of a good deal of acrimonious controversy. Lampeter College especially was in an unsatisfactory condition. It was accused of general inefficiency and particularly of neglecting Welsh studies. Thomas Phillips conceived the idea of a Welsh Collegiate Institution at Llandovery possibly to supersede it. His munificence made the establishment of the school possible, and when it was formally opened on St. David's Day, 1848, Archdeacon Williams, who had resigned the Rectorship of the Edinburgh Academy in July, 1847, was installed as first warden and headmaster. Here he rendered yeoman service to the cause of Welsh education. The prestige of his name was sufficient to collect the necessary funds for the providing of suitable buildings, which were ready in 1851. Two years later, however, the Archdeacon-Warden retired finally from the arduous work of a schoolmaster, leaving Llandovery in a high position among the schools of Wales, and spent the last five years of his life in literary work. He lived first at Brighton, where for three months he did the work of his old pupil, Frederick Robertson, the incumbent of Trinity Chapel, and on his death preached his funeral sermon.

After two years at Oxford he removed to Bushey in 1857, where he lived till his death on December 27, 1858, his remains being buried in Bushey Churchyard on January 4, 1859, his wife, a daughter of Thomas Evans, of Llanilar, having died in 1854. Williams was himself survived by five out of the six daughters born of the marriage.

In 1841 some of his old pupils commissioned Colvin Smith to paint a portrait of the Rector, and this hangs in the great hall of the Academy. There is also a

marble bust of him, by Joseph Edwards, in the library of Balliol, of which there is a cast in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

John Williams unquestionably holds a high place among the classical scholars of his time. His *Homerus* was a weighty contribution to prove the essential unity of the Homeric poems, while his works on Alexander and Julius Cæsar display sound scholarship combined with literary ability. His attempt to prove that the Claudia mentioned in St. Paul's last letter was a British princess is at best a precarious piece of identification which, even if it could be reasonably established, would fall far short of proving a first century origin for British Christianity.

To Welsh learning Williams's most serious contribution is "*Gomer*," published in 1854, just after he had left Llandovery. The work was published in two parts, the first of which may be more accurately described as the metaphysics of language than as philology, while the second contains "specimens from the works of the Cymric poets with translations."

Such is a brief sketch of a remarkable man whose life was full and varied. A versatile scholar and a lover of nature he had a keen eye for the beautiful in literature and in art. Possessed of a temper on the whole good, he had the misfortune to spend a considerable portion of his life in "trouble and controversy." The root of all the difficulty lay in vanity and self-consciousness. His Celtic versatility of mind was allied to the Celt's quickness to take offence. When the news of his death reached Lampeter, Rowland Williams expressed his regret that "so much power as he possessed was not more happily guided."

Although absent from Wales during the greater part

of his working life, he loved the land of his birth with an ardent love. To him, after all, patriotism was something infinitely better and nobler than "selfishness writ large." And although he placed knowledge high as a power in life, he placed righteousness far higher. In his writings and in his work he showed his agreement with the wise man's saying that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

SIR HUGH OWEN.

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Born January 14, 1804; *Member of General Committee, British and Foreign School Society; a Founder of Bangor Normal College; Chief Founder of University College of Wales, Aberystwyth; Founder of National Eisteddfod Association; Treasurer of Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion; Knighthood conferred July* 19, 1881; *died, at Mentone, November* 20, 1881.

By W. E. DAVIES.

THERE are no university degrees or academic distinctions to be entered after the name of one who may fairly be hailed as the creator and inspirer of the system of education of which Wales is now the fortunate possessor. "Prifysgol Cymru" existed indeed, in his busy brain—had existed there for many years—but he did not live to see the realisation of his ideas, and it was left to other able and faithful hands to place in position this, the coping stone, the capital of his long and zealous labours. There was consequently no Welsh fountain of honour. There is no record that other seats of learning sought to honour this worthy worker. Had they done so, in all probability he would have shrunk from acceptance. Parliamentary honours were offered him but he declined them, because the due performance of the duties of a Member of Parliament would have prevented him from devoting himself to the work of his life—the advancement and perfecting of Welsh Education.

Sir Hugh Owen was born January 14, 1804, at "Y Foel," a farmhouse standing a little back from

the Anglesey shore of the Menai Straits, opposite to the ancient town of Carnarvon and on the road between the Ferryhouse of Tal-y-foel and the village of Brynsiencyn. His grandfather was named Hugh Owen and was a native of Carnarvon. His father, Owen Owen, was a farmer, and his mother, Mary Jones, was the daughter of a farmer, Owen Jones, of Quirt. So that it will be seen that Sir Hugh Owen derived descent from that worthy class of the community to whom Wales owes so many of her best and noblest sons. The young Hugh Owen was fortunate in that there was at Carnarvon a very good school kept by Evan Richardson, an old scholar of Ystradmeurig, the excellent school endowed by Edward Richard. To Evan Richardson's school Hugh Owen was sent when he was eight years old, and he remained there until his seventeenth year when, shortly after the death of Evan Richardson in 1821, he returned home. In 1825, in his twenty-first year, he went to London and became clerk to Mr. W. Bulkeley Hughes, afterwards member for Carnarvon Boroughs, who was then practising at the Bar. Shortly afterwards he obtained a position in the office of Mr. R. Vaughan Wynne Williams, a solicitor in Hatton Garden. Eleven years later, in February, 1836, Sir Hugh Owen applied for a post in the service of the Poor Law Commission and was immediately successful. For thirty-six years, until November, 1872, he served the Poor Law Commission and its successors, the Poor Law Board and the Local Government Board. He was in the Parish Property Office till 1842, when he was transferred to the Secretary's Department. Subsequently appointed Clerk to the Board; in 1853 he was made Chief Clerk for Office Management, and this position he held until his retirement. During his long period of useful and honourable service he received many marks

of the confidence and respect of the Parliamentary and Official heads of the Poor Law Administration and substantial tokens of the esteem of his colleagues. On his retirement he devoted himself to work for the upkeep of the College at Aberystwyth and to other schemes for Secondary and University Education in Wales.

Sir Hugh Owen was married in 1829, and had a large family, of whom two sons and four daughters survived him. The elder of the two sons is Sir Hugh Owen, G.C.B., formerly Permanent Secretary of the Local Government Board, whose nomination as one of the Commissioners under Mr. Birrell's Education Act was so felicitous and appropriate an appointment.

On July 19, 1881, Mr. W. E. Gladstone wrote proposing "with Her Majesty's sanction that he should receive the honour of knighthood which he had well merited by his services to the cause of education in Wales." With characteristic modesty he hesitated to accept an honour which he deemed to be beyond his desert, but he was overborne by his friends and fellow-workers, and at Osborne received from Queen Victoria the reward he had so fully and richly deserved.

In August, 1881, Lord Aberdare's Committee on Welsh Higher and Intermediate Education presented its Report, and it is not too much to say that the Report mirrored very largely the views and ideas which Sir Hugh Owen had placed before the Committee in his evidence. Shortly after the presentation of the Report, Sir Hugh Owen took one of the rare holidays of his life. It was becoming painfully apparent to his friends that his health was failing him. Later on in November, 1881, he was advised to winter in the Riviera. He proceeded to Mentone accompanied by members of his family and there—on Sunday morning of November 20, 1881,—

he died. His remains were laid to rest in Abney Park Cemetery, London.

Before proceeding to a sketch of the chief work of his life—his work for Welsh Education, it may be well to place on record very succinctly his other public labours. In the early days of his life in London, he was instrumental in establishing—in connection with the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel,—*Hên Gapel Jewin*—the London Welsh Provident Society, a society for the encouragement of thrift, and also the Metropolitan Welsh Total Abstinence Society. In 1839, he became interested in a scheme for erecting a school of the British and Foreign School Society in Pentonville, and acted as one of the secretaries. This is a very interesting fact, as it was without doubt the germ of his work for education in Wales. Later in life, in 1859, he became Honorary Secretary of the London Fever Hospital, in whose work he was warmly interested and of which he ultimately became a Vice-President. In the same year he took a leading part in establishing a club and friendly society for cabmen called the King's Cross Cabmen's Club. In 1861 he founded the Social Science Section of the Welsh National Eisteddfod, meetings which are represented, in the present day, by those of the Cymmrodorion Society. Out of the sectional meetings of 1861 there arose the Council of "Yr Eisteddfod," whose publications were the forerunners of the Transactions now published by the National Eisteddfod Association. In 1873, he presided over a meeting when the Cymmrodorion Society, originally established under Royal Warrant in 1751, was resuscitated. He was a member of its Council until his death, and in his later years, was its treasurer. In the same year, 1873, he took a leading share in forming the London Welsh Charitable Aid Society. In 1880 a paper on

"Eisteddfod Reform," was read by him in London at a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society and, at the request of that Society, was subsequently read at one of the Society's Section Meetings in connection with the Carnarvon Eisteddfod held in August of that year. The paper aroused very considerable interest, and a meeting was held in the following September at the Raven Hotel, Shrewsbury, when, as a result of his efforts, the National Eisteddfod Association was established. Not an inconsiderable record of work done in the leisure of an arduous official life, even had there been naught besides but, as will be seen, the greater part remains to be told.

Sir Hugh Owen's first task in connection with education in Wales was the establishment of British Schools, and to understand the need for such schools it will be necessary to recall the conditions prevailing in Wales at that period, namely the latter part of the first half of the nineteenth century. Statistical tables show that in the early part of that period the number of schools and scholars in Wales was small, but that by the close of the same period very considerable improvement had taken place. Sir Thomas Phillips, in his well-known book, "Wales," supplies figures which show that in North Wales elementary schools existed in the year 1846, in districts comprising 317,215 people out of a total population of 396,320. An inquiry into the cause of this improvement will supply at the same time the reason for the need of British Schools, of which only two or three existed at the time, and in the district of which Sir Thomas Phillips wrote. In or about the year 1837 the serious attention of the National Society would appear to have been drawn to the unsatisfactory condition of elementary education in Wales, and energetic efforts were put forth in order to make good the deficiency. That such efforts were in a

measure successful is proved by reference to a table given by Sir Thomas Phillips, which shows that a total of Day *and Sunday* scholars amounting to 17,172 in 1826, had increased in twenty years to a total in 1846, of 63,891. Of the 63,891, the number attending *on Sunday only* was 19,050. In considering these figures it will be useful to bear in mind that the population of Wales and Monmouthshire, to which these statistics of school attendance belong, was 1,045,958. It will then be at once apparent that although schools had evidently been liberally supplied —there were 1,010 schools in existence in 1846—the children for some reason or another did not attend them as they should have done. There is no reason to suppose that this lack of attendance arose from lack of desire for education. Attempts, it is true, were made to draw a picture in very sombre colours of the depraved condition of Wales and the Welsh people during the period now under review. These culminated in the Report of the Commission which was appointed to make inquiry—the Report that is known to every Welshman as "Brâd y Llyfrau Gleision." The able and conclusive replies to that Report from the pen of Mr. Henry Richard, of Sir Thomas Phillips and of many others have shown that in very many and very important respects the Commissioners had been misled. The records of the efforts made by Sir John Philipps of Picton, Griffith Jones and Madam Bevan show at all times a willingness, and in many cases an eagerness, for instruction on the part of the common people. If the lack of attendance at school in 1846 was not due to lack of desire for education, then to what cause can it be ascribed. In reply to this question let it be borne in mind that the great majority of the Welsh people at that time were Nonconformists, Sir Thomas Phillips—himself a member of the Church of England—concedes the point.

He says: "The majority, and in some respects a very large majority, of the inhabitants belong to some or other of the various Dissenting communities which there abound." It only remains to be added that the schools provided were for the most part provided by the "National Society," whose full title is "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." Scholars attending the National School had also to attend the Church Sunday School and the service of the Church at least once on Sunday. Looking at this from the point of view of the Established Church, it is difficult to find fault. They at least "paid the piper," and it was fair that they should "call the tune." Church dignitaries and other supporters of the schools, to their credit be it said, boldly avowed their principles. One of them speaking in or about the year 1846, says: "*The main object of Church Schools* is to ground the children well in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and to imbue them with Church principles." In that fact lies the answer to the question why the majority of the Welsh children were kept away from the Church Schools so lavishly supplied in Wales between 1826 and 1846. A sentence from the manifesto issued by Sir Hugh Owen to the Welsh people in 1843, is very characteristic of him, for it puts the matter tersely and pithily—"You feel the necessity of giving education to your children, and you love liberty of conscience: in order to provide the children with education, you must have schools: in order to secure liberty of conscience, you must have schools which shall not be identified with any particular denomination." That puts the problem in a nutshell. Let it be, however, noted that although the children did not attend the day schools they were not entirely uneducated. The Sunday schools

and other meetings, catechetical and literary, connected with the various chapels gave them a not inconsiderable instruction, although purely secular knowledge was not held in high esteem. But if they thought little of secular teaching the fact that they valued the teaching given in their Sunday schools is abundantly proved by the figures given of "the number of Sunday scholars receiving instruction in Dissenting chapels." These figures are those of the Commissioners of Brâd y Llyfrau Gleision fame, and the total for the four Dioceses of Wales is 224,439. Briefly, but it is hoped clearly, there is now before us the background for the picture of Sir Hugh Owen's first great work for Wales—the establishment of British Schools.

It has already been said that in 1839 Sir Hugh became interested in a scheme for the erection of a School of the British and Foreign School Society in Denmark Terrace, Pentonville. In conjunction with Mr. Danby Fry he acted as honorary secretary of the movement, and there can be no doubt that it was while he worked in order to carry out this plan for the benefit of Pentonville that he realised how well-adapted were the means and methods of the British and Foreign School Society for supplying the needs of Wales. There can be no possible doubt that he realised very clearly what those needs were, and that he recognised with at least equal clearness how those needs were to be met. This is shown by the means he adopted to approach his fellow-countrymen on the subject. In 1843 he issued his manifesto to the Welsh people, of which a translation is here given. This manifesto is worthy of reproduction, not simply because it is a document of the most vital importance to every Welsh educationist, but also because a careful perusal of it affords a clue to the great qualities of

character and method which so largely conduced to the success of Sir Hugh Owen in connection with his efforts on behalf of Welsh education. The following is a free translation of his letter :—

DAY SCHOOLS.

TO THE WELSH PEOPLE.

8, Coles Terrace, Islington,
London, August 26, 1843.

DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

You feel the necessity of giving education to your children, and you love liberty of conscience: in order to provide the children with education, you must have schools: in order to secure liberty of conscience, you must have schools which shall not be identified with any particular religious denomination. In order to attain this end, I offer the following scheme for your consideration :—

1. That a British School shall be established in every district. The plan adopted in British Schools is entirely consistent with freedom of conscience, and is excellently effective in the conveying of instruction.

2. That a society shall be formed in every county, to be called "The British School Society of the county of ——." The work of the Society to be carried on by a Committee, with the assistance of a treasurer and secretary. The Committee to be composed of fit and proper persons chosen from among the members of the various religious denominations in the county. The objects of the society shall be: to collect a fund for the assistance of poor neighbourhoods in the erection and maintenance of schools; to help in the formation of local committees; to advise as to the best sites for schools, and upon the

plans for their erection and their size: to point out the means for obtaining money for the execution of the work; to choose teachers, etc.

3. That in every district where a school shall be required a committee be formed, to consist of about twelve persons, with a treasurer and secretary. The members of this committee (which I will call the local committee) to be chosen from among the various religious denominations in the district, but they need not of necessity be professed members of their respective bodies. The objects of the local committee shall be: to find a site for a school; to secure its conveyance to trustees; to provide plans; to select an architect; to seek the assistance of the neighbourhood in building the school and in its subsequent maintenance; to secure a teacher; and, lastly, to see that the school be efficiently conducted.

I would further call your attention to the aid which Government offers for the provision of teachers, and for the support of the schools.

Government Aid.—Every man ought to know that the Government contributes about thirty thousand pounds annually towards the erection of schools, and that Dissenters enjoy full liberty to obtain part of this sum for the erection of British Schools. As an ordinary rule. a grant of ten shillings is made for every child which the school will accommodate; that is to say, one hundred pounds would be granted towards the erection of a school intended to accommodate two hundred children. The dimensions of a school for that number of children to be about forty-eight feet in length, and twenty-six feet in width. The officials of Government will prepare, should that be necessary, specifications as well as plans free of expense.

I think I am advantageously placed for rendering my

fellow-countrymen assistance in this matter, and I am willing to do it gratuitously to the full extent of my power. If therefore anybody, in any part of Wales feels himself impelled to make a move in the direction of establishing a British School in his district, let him write to me, and I shall be glad to place his case before Government and to send him the necessary information to enable him to carry out his intentions.

Local Aid.—I anticipate that the grant which the Government can make will be nearly sufficient, in a country like Wales, where labour and building materials are so cheap, and especially where so much help will be given free of cost in the cartage of building materials to build the school. But to make up any deficiency, help should be asked from neighbouring landlords.

Teachers.—It would never be worth entailing the cost and trouble of erecting the schools unless care be taken to secure for them efficient teachers. It is not always he who possesses knowledge himself that can impart it to others; learned men find it a task of extraordinary difficulty—to give instruction to children, and it is a task which no one ought to undertake without special training. There is in London a school for the instruction of teachers in the method of the British Schools—viz., the Normal School of the British and Foreign School Society. Eligible young men from Wales can obtain free admission to this school. They would have to remain there for some months in order to make them efficient in their calling.

The Support of Schools.—After securing a school and a teacher, provision will have to be made for their support. This should be done in the following way: Let every land-owner and every ratepayer in the district be asked what sum he will annually subscribe towards the schools.

Every subscriber of five shillings to be entitled to send one child (his own or that of another) to school on payment by him or the child of three-halfpence per week. Every subscriber of ten shillings to be entitled to send one child to school without having to make any further payment. Every annual subscriber of twenty shillings to be entitled to send two children to the school free of further payment; and so on. Children of others than subscribers to pay a school fee of threepence per week.

I believe that this path is so easy that every district in Wales may, by following it, secure an efficient school, with due regard to perfect freedom of conscience. An oppressive yoke has been already placed upon the neck of several districts through the instrumentality of schools; the same yoke is being prepared for others; and the only way to escape it is by erecting your own schools according to the system of the British School Society.

I am, your obedient servant,

HUGH OWEN.

With characteristic thoroughness this letter was circulated throughout the whole of Wales. No doubt his official position enabled Sir Hugh to acquire exceptionally accurate and full information as to the best men to address on such a subject. The Poor Law officials in each district would no doubt heartily help him in that respect. In addition the ear of the Press was besieged, copies were sent to all the newspapers and magazines of Wales and cordially expressed notices and articles appeared recommending the scheme to the hearty approval and support of the Welsh people. The success of the appeal was instantaneous. Applications poured in and it soon became obvious that comprehensive arrangements would have to be made for dealing with

them. The action taken by him under these circumstances is a striking feature in the character of Sir Hugh Owen. Many a weaker man would have been so elated with the idea that in two short months his appeal had set Wales ablaze that he would have tried to keep the movement in his own hands and would have considered it impossible that it could be carried on by any others. Sir Hugh Owen, however, made no such mistake, but went straightway to the British and Foreign School Society, placed before them the appeals he had received from all parts of Wales, explained to them the local conditions and the local needs, and proposed to them that they should take the matter in hand and that they should appoint agents in North Wales and in South Wales to carry on the work. Sir Hugh Owen's letter was issued on August 26, 1843, and in the following November the Rev. John Phillips had taken up his residence in North Wales and was in harness as the agent of the Society in that part of the Principality. No better man could have been chosen for the work and the memory of John Phillips of Bangor is fragrant in Wales to this day. Much has been said and written upon the wonderful progress of education in Wales during the last sixty years—it has been called the " Romance of Welsh Education." A telling illustration of this may be found by recalling, on the one hand, that John Phillips went down to North Wales in 1843 to help the Nonconformist children of North Wales to obtain education of a most elementary character and, on the other, the fact that his son Reginald W. Phillips, a Doctor of Science and the holder of other University distinctions, is now the Professor of Botany in the University College of North Wales at Bangor and was one of the many who helped to place upon a sound foundation " Prifysgol Cymru "

The University of Wales, which was founded in 1893 just fifty years after the date when John Phillips went down to North Wales as an educational missionary for the British School Society. The services of the Rev. John Phillips were greatly appreciated by all and were gratefully acknowledged by Sir Hugh Owen who, speaking of the first year of the work of Mr. Phillips, said—"Within the year Mr. Phillips has held about 150 public meetings on the subject, and has thus *in his own attractive way* brought the value of Education, the necessity for establishing day schools, and the superiority of British Schools, together with the method of obtaining and supporting them, before 6,000 of our fellow countrymen. He has also formed eighty committees in as many different localities, with a view to the eventual establishment of Schools there. Of these localities twelve have already established schools in which some 1,500 children receive instruction. Twenty-four of them have sent their petitions to Government for grants in aid of their buildings, and grants they will undoubtedly get to the extent of at least four thousand pounds between them; and several are busy with the work of school erection." The strenuous work of the first year was continued and maintained until it became evident that further help was needed to cope with it, and in 1845 the Rev. H. Pugh, of Mostyn, and the Rev. J. Mills, of Ruthin, were appointed to assist Mr. Phillips. It will have been observed that the work was apparently confined almost entirely to North Wales, and such in fact was the case. Indeed practically nothing was done in South Wales until about ten years after the beginning of the work in North Wales, for it was in 1853 that the Rev. William Roberts, of Blaenau, was appointed an agent of the British and Foreign School Society to render the same service to South Wales that Mr.

Phillips and his assistants had rendered to the Northern part of the Principality. The cause of this loss of ten years was that a band of very able, very influential, and very conscientious men opposed the adoption of Sir Hugh Owen's scheme on the ground that it militated against their principles. They considered that to accept money from the State to erect schools, schools in which religious instruction would be given, was much the same thing as the establishment of religion and consequently that such a scheme was directly opposed to their views. They deemed it their duty to protest against Endowed Schools as strenuously as they protested against endowment of religion in the shape of the Established Church of England. Therefore they sought to solve the problem of Elementary Schools in South Wales by the adoption of the voluntary principle, a plan which was adversely criticised by Sir Hugh Owen. As has been already stated the voluntary solution was a failure and was admitted to be such when, after ten years of trial, it was abandoned and Sir Hugh Owen's scheme was adopted in its stead. While the Agents of the British School Society were busily at work founding schools, Sir Hugh Owen was equally busy in supplementing their labours in other ways. His correspondence with the Privy Council Committee on Education was very voluminous on points of detail and on questions of importance—such, for instance, as whether a school in a certain part was or was not really required. The Church of England clergymen in many cases opposed the proposed grants to British Schools on the ground—the very fair ground from their point of view—that sufficient school accommodation already existed in the parish, as it possessed a school of the National Society. Obviously the Nonconformists answered that although it was true that the National

School was sufficiently large to accommodate the children it was nevertheless necessary to have a British School because the children of Nonconformists could not and would not attend a school deliberately founded in order to "imbue them with Church principles." Battle being joined on that issue the next point of dispute would obviously be as to the relative strength of Church and Chapel and there would be much quoting of statistics. Sir Hugh Owen very speedily saw that these controversies would increase in number and in bitterness as the activity and progress made by British Schools increased, and with characteristic shrewdness and energy he proceeded to grapple with the question. In 1846, a society was formed on his initiative and entitled the "Cambrian Educational Society" which was intended to be in effect if not in name a Welsh auxiliary to the British and Foreign School Society. In the circular letter issued in connection with the foundation of the society, its object is thus defined —"The work of extending day-schools throughout Wales requires a greater outlay than the British and Foreign School Society could be expected to incur, unless a large portion of the increased expenditure were supplied from that country; at the same time, a society formed expressly for Wales would present stronger claims on the land-owners of the Principality than one of a more general character." Sir Hugh Owen was the honorary secretary of the new society and the touch of his hand is clearly to be seen in its work. Its main objects were classified under six heads and consisted of the employment of agents in Wales to establish British Schools; the assistance of local committees to get Government aid; the giving of grants in aid of school erection; the provision of teachers; the provision of inspectors; and finally the aiding of the general advance of Welsh Elementary

Education. In view of the constant differences as to the relative proportion of Church and Chapel, Sir Hugh Owen in December, 1846, issued his second great appeal to his fellow-countrymen. After a statement that it was clear that Wales would shortly be provided with day-schools, but that it was not equally clear "*what sort* of schools" these were to be, he describes the principles and quotes the rules of the National Society, and drives home with relentless directness what such a school conducted "on strictly Church principles" was like, and argues that no party or denomination has any right to "place a sectarian test in the way of free education for the people." Then follows the pith of his appeal; he says: "If it were shown that the party which arrogates the right to impose these stringent terms upon the country are but a small minority of the population, the unreasonableness of such a proposition will be seen at once, together with the great oppression which the granting of such a request would entail." After giving minute instructions and specimen tables he winds up with an emphatic request for the statistical information as to the number of Churchmen and Nonconformists, concluding by a direct and pathetic appeal to each individual addressed—"Dear Sir,—It is probable that this request will never be made to you by me again. It is a thing done once for all. Therefore I beg of you most earnestly to take this task under your most anxious care, as if the rights and privileges of thousands of your fellow-countrymen depended *upon your faithfulness*." The result of his appeal was the provision of returns from 392 parishes containing 431,000 inhabitants or nearly half the entire population of Wales. Returns were received from each of the twelve counties of Wales, and Mr. Henry Richard

describes it as "the first and the most careful attempt ever made to procure a return of the Ecclesiastical statistics of Wales." Armed with such full and reliable figures Sir Hugh Owen was able with increasing effect to fight the battle of Wales before the Committee of Council on Education. When the grants in aid of education were increased in 1847, Sir Hugh Owen was assured by the Lords Commissioners that they would "persevere in stimulating by liberal grants the efforts of local charity for the establishment of schools founded on the principles of the British and Foreign School Society . . ." From this time forward, until the formation of School Boards, the work of the British Schools continued to increase and to prosper in Wales, and attention may now be devoted to other fields of Sir Hugh Owen's educational labour. It is right, however, that a large part of our space should have been given to the story of the foundation of these schools; firstly, because it was primarily in its origin the idea of Sir Hugh Owen carried into effect by him individually and inspired and watched over by him and, at its beginning, by him alone; secondly, because it is to these schools that Wales very largely owes the fact that when Higher Education arrived her sons and daughters were ripe to avail themselves of the facilities offered to them. His statue has been placed, very fittingly, in the town of his school-days—Carnarvon; but there is a monument to his memory wherever a British School is found on the hillsides or in the valleys of Wales.

Before proceeding to his other work mention should be made of his efforts—in or about the year 1847—to provide education for the deaf mutes of Wales. In the schedules which have been already referred to and which were issued in order to obtain reliable statistics of

Churchmen and Dissenters a column was devoted to an inquiry into the number of deaf and dumb persons in each parish, and from the replies received it was estimated that there were 500 or 600 persons so afflicted in Wales. Sir Hugh Owen drew the attention of the London Institution for the Instruction of Deaf Mutes to this fact and to the lamentable neglect of any educational provision for such persons. A meeting was held by him at Aberystwyth and, as a result, the institution which is now doing so much good work at Swansea was established.

In 1854, at a meeting in London, Sir Hugh Owen read a paper submitting a proposal for establishing Colleges in Wales on the lines of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, but nothing came of that proposal save that an indirect result was that attention was drawn to the great need of a college for training teachers for the British Schools in Wales. In the early years of the foundation of such schools the Welsh teachers were trained in the Normal College of the Society in London, but, as time went on, the need for a college or colleges in Wales became very urgent. Sir Hugh Owen brought the matter before the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society and in April, 1856, he, together with Mr. Foster, an uncle to the author of the Education Act of 1870—attended a meeting at Bangor which finally resulted in the establishment of the Normal College in that city. Sir Hugh Owen was one of the secretaries of the movement thus originated by him, and helped it with his counsel, but the lion's share of the actual work was done by the Rev. John Phillips. Sir Hugh Owen also assisted in establishing the College for Training Female Teachers at Swansea.

There can be no doubt that Sir Hugh Owen had studied very closely the question of secondary schools in Wales;

the evidence given by him before Lord Aberdare's Committee and the elaborate schemes that he proposed to that Committee, abundantly prove this to have been the case. He appears, however, to have recognised that the task of dealing with the numberless difficulties of the problem was beyond the power of any individual. Nevertheless although he made, so far as is known, no effort to grapple with the question of reforming and re-organising the grammar schools he did not allow the matter to rest without making an attempt at improvement. It is unthinkable that his shrewd and observant mind could have neglected to see the importance of secondary schools to link the elementary schools with the University colleges. That he was keenly alive to it was shown by his foundation of that excellent society "The North Wales Scholarship Association," the object of which, as expressed by him, was to "connect elementary schools with higher grade schools by means of scholarships" in order to help "clever boys and girls to pass on from one school to the other, in order to extend their education, and in some instances of preparing them to compete for the prizes offered in colleges and universities." Sir Hugh Owen, in 1879, addressed a meeting of head masters and head mistresses of elementary schools in Anglesey—his native county—and the result was the establishment of the association. He watched over its early years, he framed its rules and took a keen interest in its progress and success. In this work he was ably seconded by Mr. Cadwaladr Davies, who was the secretary, and by Sir Marchant Williams. As a direct fruit of this association there are now at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, two professors who owe to it in great measure their education—namely, Mr. Hudson Williams, Professor of Greek, and

Dr. Taylor Jones, Professor of Physics, and there are many more.

We now approach the second *great* service rendered by Sir Hugh Owen—namely, his work in connection with the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. We have already seen that he ventllated this question of colleges so early as 1854, but the project had then to be abandoned. Public interest was, at that time, centred in the Crimea, and subsequently in India, and it was not until 1862 that the question was actively revived. At that time the late Dr. Thomas Nicholas wrote a series of letters on the subject to the "*Cambrian Daily Leader*" which very naturally attracted the attention of Sir Hugh Owen. Dr. Nicholas was asked by him to read a paper dealing with the question before the Social Science Section at the Eisteddfod of Swansea. In response to an invitation, Dr. Nicholas visited Sir Hugh Owen in London, and in December, 1863, a meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern when the establishment of a University College was resolved upon. At first everything promised well, St. David's College, Lampeter, seemed likely to join the movement, and it appeared probable that the proposed University College on entirely unsectarian lines might combine with Lampeter to form a Welsh degree-conferring University. But the promise of these early days was soon dimmed, the paralysing touch of sectarian difference soon made itself felt. Churchmen regarded the proposal coldly, while the Noncomformists were jealous of each other and dreaded lest the College should become an appanage of "Yr hên Gorph"—the Calvinistic Methodists. One after another the early supporters—Sir G. Osborne Morgan, Mr. William Williams, M.P., Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Dr. Nicholas, Dr. David Charles—fell away, until, in 1873, even Sir Hugh Owen had to acknowledge that the "outlook was not

promising." Despite all difficulties, and in the face of discouragement Sir Hugh Owen plodded on. In October, 1872, the college at Aberystwyth was opened; burdened with a debt of over £7,700 on the purchase account of the premises. The total amount subscribed up to this date, was £12,034, out of which £4,008 had gone in salaries of secretaries, travelling and incidental expenses. No funds were available for carrying on the College and the estimated cost of £2,000 a year was raised by subscription in five districts each guaranteeing £400 per annum for three years: the districts were London, Liverpool, Manchester, North Wales, and South Wales. To their credit be it said each district responded heartily; the funds needed were raised, and, in addition, the debt of £7,700 on the Premises Fund was cleared away before the end of 1874. Cheering as this fact undoubtedly was, there still remained much to be done. The proposed Endowment Fund of £50,000 to provide for the upkeep was scarcely begun, and until that Endowment Fund was completed a Sustentation Fund would have to be raised. It may now appear a small matter, but in 1874 it was far otherwise. In these days the University College of North Wales deliberately embarks on a scheme entailing the expenditure of a quarter of a million, but things were different in 1874. The wealthy landowners of Wales were apathetic; some of the mining magnates of South Wales—Davies of Llandinam and Davis of Ferndale—gave generous gifts, and here and there a Samuel Morley made princely contributions, but in the main the College of Aberystwyth had to rely upon the shillings of the tradesmen and the farmers and upon the pence of the collier, and the miner, of the quarryman, and the labourer. As the Guarantee Fund for three years drew to its close, Sir Hugh Owen was sore distressed and put to it to devise

means for its continuance. In his perplexity he consulted "Gohebydd"—who was the first of the now numerous tribe of London correspondents, and who wrote every week for the "*Baner ac Amseran Cymru*," a letter dealing with public affairs in and out of Parliament, the influence of which in Wales it would be difficult to over estimate. "Gohebydd" advised with confidence an appeal to the people, a house-to-house collection, a collection in every chapel on a specified day from which there grew "Sul y Brif Ysgol"—a forerunner of the "Hospital Sunday"—and an appeal for help to the various synods and official meetings of the several denominations. Sir Hugh Owen adopted the idea, and immediately threw himself heart and soul into the work. He had retired from the Local Government Board in 1872, and was therefore able to devote the whole of his time to Aberystwyth, and this he had done for two years before the date in 1874 when he embarked upon the task of raising by public subscription the sum of £2,000 a year to maintain the College until 1877. He attended the meetings of the Calvinistic Methodist Association, of the Wesleyan Methodist districts, of the Congregationalist and Baptist Unions, and was kindly and sympathetically received. Collections were made in the Chapels on "Sul y Brif Ysgol." He attended public meetings in every town and village of importance throughout Wales, he organised door-to-door collections. He was between seventy and seventy-three years of age, yet he spared not himself; considerate of others, he was relentless when he was himself concerned. On remote railway platforms, in secluded corners of Wales, on the roadside, here, there, everywhere, the neat, precise figure and small black bag of Sir Hugh Owen were familiar to the eyes of the Welsh people. No record can be found in the accounts of even his travelling expenses. As a

result of his labours he raised in the three years not £6,000 but £8,878, a result alike creditable to him and to the people in whom he trusted. Is it too much, then, to claim that he and he alone kept open the doors of Aberystwyth from 1872 till 1877.

Of course he had helpers; it would be a sorry thing to leave them unnoticed for he was scrupulous, nay, punctilious in giving due credit to those who assisted him in his work. There was "Gohebydd" who has been already named, an able writer, and a keen observer of affairs possessing withal a profound knowledge of the Welsh people and the Welsh character. Another who stood by him in foul weather and in fair, who supported and cheered him, was Stephen Evans. A native of Cardiganshire, a warehouseman in extensive business in the city of London, he was one of the best Welshmen that ever lived and the staunchest of friends. Of indomitable courage, difficulties never daunted him but, on the contrary, they served to incite him to further effort. The steeper the hill the stouter his heart. His confidence in, and admiration for, Sir Hugh Owen knew no bounds and it is impossible to overestimate the cheering and helpful influence that he exerted. Friends and helpers of a later day were Cadwaladr Davies and Marchant Williams, both in their degree the children of his labours. Cadwaladr Davies received his education—so much or so little of it as was acquired in school days—at one of the first of the British Schools, "Ysgol y Garth," in Bangor. He was a loyal disciple of Sir Hugh Owen, and when his chief fell by the way he carried on a share of the work to a successful conclusion. Marchant Williams was trained for the scholastic career, which he abandoned later for more brilliant things, at the Normal College founded by Sir Hugh in Bangor. During the last ten years or so he was

Sir Hugh's constant counsellor affording him out of the treasure-house of his scholastic and "inspectorial" experience much valuable information and help. In his secretaries Sir Hugh was also extremely fortunate, Mr. Solomon Owen and, after him, Mr. J. B. Rogers, rendered him loyal service. There were also many distinguished men who were drawn to his assistance when by his efforts the interest in Welsh education became more general and more intense. Their names will doubtless be recorded in other pages, but mention should be made of Lord Aberdare, Lord Rendel, and Sir Lewis Morris.

Such is a brief and sketchy record of a long and laborious life, and it may be useful before closing, to attempt some estimate of the character and gifts of the man who performed such herculean service. We have seen that for a boy born in the dark days at the beginning of the nineteenth century he was exceptionally fortunate in his school and schoolmasters, and that he was, for his day and generation, well educated. It was, however, a modest equipment enough. Of the gifts or tricks of the orator he was entirely innocent. He was not at home on the platform, but in committee he spoke easily and fluently but dispassionately, rarely appealing to the feelings of his hearers but relying almost entirely on the safe, if dry, logic of facts and figures. In what, then, can be found the secret of his wonderful and successful work? First and foremost he was baptised with a consuming love for his native land and for his fellow countrymen. This burned within him not intermittently, but with a steady and constant flame. In the next place he possessed that sweetness of disposition which springs from simple, sincere piety and which won for him the loyal esteem and warm affection of those with whom he came into contact. As Sir Marchant Williams has beautifully expressed it—"his

meekness of heart, his life in God, joined him to the train of Christ, and mingled him with the lengthening procession of the saints."

Added to his intense love of his country and to "his life in God" and consequent magnetic attraction there were other great natural gifts. The first was a constructive mind—statesmanlike and analytical. Sir Hugh Owen never embarked upon any scheme without sitting down to sift and to examine the facts. The first step was a microscopical investigation of the position, then a careful marshalling of all the facts, and finally the evolution of the scheme. With him there was no looseness of thought, no looseness of expression, no stepping forward to a remote postulate before making good the foundation and all the intermediate steps. This was why his schemes were accorded such immediate and full acceptance. Who can read his first manifesto to the Welsh people on the formation of British Schools without appreciating this rare gift. The scheme stands clean cut before us like some seemly fabric firm-based and beautiful in all its parts. The other great gift was resolution, grim perseverance, and fixity of purpose, illuminated by a noble courage and a high faith. Persons who met Sir Hugh Owen in private life were at a loss to understand how the quiet gentleman—in the true sense of a much-abused word—with so beautiful a face, with so sunny a light in his eye and so ready a smile on his lip, could be the hero of so many a hard-fought field, and the possessor of so indomitable a will. But those who met him in counsel when some difficult point had to be met were never at a loss, for to them one glance at the firmly-set lips and the lines of the resolute chin sufficed. Before them stood revealed in his strength the great man to whom under God's good providence Wales is, and ever will be, so deeply indebted.

LORD ABERDARE.

HENRY AUSTIN BRUCE, FIRST BARON ABERDARE, P.C., G.C.B., F.R.S., HON. D.C.L., OXFORD.

Born April 16, 1815; *educated at St. Omer, France, and Swansea Grammar School; Stipendiary Magistrate, Merthyr,* 1847-52; *M.P. for Merthyr,* 1852-68; *President of University College, Aberystwyth,* 1875-95; *Chairman of Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales,* 1880-81; *President of University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire,* 1883-95; *First Chancellor of the University of Wales,* 1895; *died February* 25, 1895.

By the HON. W. N. BRUCE.

THE inclusion of Lord Aberdare in a list of Welsh Educational Leaders is not likely to be challenged; but in spite of his distinguished Parliamentary career, and his long connection with a Welsh constituency, it is not so clear that he can properly be treated as a Welsh political leader. There was nothing characteristically Welsh in his political aims and opinions. He belonged to a Tory family, and to a generation which had no special sympathy with the idea of a Celtic revival or the recognition of Welsh Nationality. He ceased to be a Welsh Member of the House of Commons at the very time when the Reform Act of 1867 made the creation of a Welsh Party possible, and as a member of Mr. Gladstone's first Cabinet he represented a Scotch constituency. Nevertheless, Wales was the country of his birth, Wales was his home through life, in Wales he gained the early knowledge and

experience of the social and industrial problems on which his political career was built, and it was by contact with Welsh working men that he fostered the disinterested zeal for bettering the condition of those about him which inspired all his work. It will be well, therefore, in this sketch to consider his career under both aspects, for the value of his educational services will be enhanced rather than diminished when they are viewed side by side with efforts for the good of the community in other directions both in and outside of Wales.

Henry Austin Bruce was born on April 16, 1815, at Duffryn, in the parish of Aberdare. He was the second son of John Bruce-Pryce and Sarah Austin, daughter of the Rev. Hugh Williams Austin, Rector of St. Peter's, Barbadoes. His mother died in 1842, leaving a family of five sons and seven daughters. His father was a well-known and honoured figure in Glamorgan county life for more than half a century. Bishop Copleston used to say that he was an abler man than either of his brothers, one of whom became a Lord Justice of Appeal and the other the first Dean of Llandaff. He was content with the activities of a country gentleman, and lived to see his son Henry become a Secretary of State.

Henry Bruce's Welsh blood was inherited from his father's grandmother, Jane Lewis, of the family of Lewis of Llanishen, with which modern research has connected Oliver Cromwell.

When he was six years old he went with his parents to St. Omer, in France, where the family resided for the next six years, and where he acquired the familiar use of the French language. On his return to Wales he was sent to the Swansea Grammar School, and remained there till the age of seventeen. He would often speak with admiration and gratitude of the scholarship and

literary enthusiasm of a Mr. Griffiths, then second master in the school, and afterwards a master at Shrewsbury school in the golden days of Dr. Kennedy. But he would add that he had suffered, on the whole, from the want of stimulus to exertion in a small school where few boys carried their education very far. His most distinguished fellow-pupil was the late Sir Charles Newton, of the British Museum. In a letter to one of his own sons, Lord Aberdare wrote :—

"I had no turn for mathematics, but I remember amusing my vacant hours at school by translating portions of Thucydides and Demosthenes, and now and then by trying to turn English verse into Latin. I also learnt by heart for my own pleasure many hundreds, probably thousands, of Latin verses, and not a few Greek."

His Greek he let slip away from him, to his great regret in later years; but with Virgil and Horace he maintained his intimacy to the end. His voluntary studies were not carried on at the expense of outdoor exercises, for, when he left school, he could run, leap, swim and fence in a way that would have won him distinction in this age of athletic competition, and he was then and all his life an excellent shot and fisherman.

Instead of going to a University, Henry Bruce went straight from school to the study of the Law. He read in the chambers of his uncle and of an eminent conveyancer, and among his fellow pupils was the late Lord Cranbrook, who was to be his immediate predecessor as Home Secretary. He was called to the Bar as a member of Lincoln's Inn, and studied law with somewhat fitful assiduity for several years. He had little practice, and no zeal for his profession. Ill at ease in mind, and unsuited by constitution to town life, he suffered in health,

and had more than once to take a prolonged holiday before he abandoned the Bar and London, and settled down in Glamorgan in the year 1845.

This period of twelve years had, however, been by no means one of waste or stagnation. In addition to some solid legal knowledge he had made himself familiar with the best literature of France and Italy, while in that of England, he had explored the bye-paths as well as the more beaten tracks. He had a wide and accurate knowledge of history, and a good acquaintance with English political philosophers. He had travelled much in France and Italy, studying the people, as well as their art and history, as he went. He had seen much of the best intellectual society in London, and numbered among his intimate friends many who were to attain distinction in various paths of life. Music and pictures were an unfailing source of delight and refreshment to him, and it is interesting to Welshmen to know that, while at Rome, he saw much of his Welsh compatriots, Gibson, the sculptor, and Penry Williams, who afterwards appointed him his literary executor. On the other hand, his prospects in life were not very encouraging. He found himself at the age of thirty, without a profession or independent means, doubtful about his health, conscious of abilities above the average, but with no directing purpose or masterful ambition, no "sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!"

Early in 1843 he writes to a friend:— "I am become daily more discontented with my lot in life. I am an indolent, reserved and peaceful man. I have no taste for that clash of wits, that intellectual warfare, which is as the breath of life to the heaven-born barrister. I am tired of pursuing a career for which I have no calling, tired of the hypocrisy of pretending to work, tired of the uncertainty which prevents me from applying myself

to anything better; tired, in short, of being a useless member of society." And again:—"I am daily discovering that I am fit for nothing but a very indifferent country squire. I shall, ere long, become the Justice Shallow of Glamorganshire, and, half-torpid amid the indolence of a country life, boast of my acquaintance with choice spirits and well-known names."

The step he had taken was, indeed, the turning-point in his life, but how different in its results from what these passages fore-shadow! In 1846 he married* and was established by his father at Duffryn, Mountain Ash. In the following year he was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate for Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare, and thus entered on his long career of public service.

The period of his magistracy (1847–52) was one of great anxiety and unrest. The Corn Laws were repealed and Free Trade had come; but the Chartist movement in England and the Revolutions of 1848 on the Continent kept men's minds in a ferment, and the question of the "Condition of England" was stirring all serious people profoundly. Wales had its own share of the general problem to deal with. Attention had been rudely drawn to the conditions of the poor by the publication in 1846–47 of the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of education in the Principality. Industrial Wales had just sprung into life with the opening of the South Wales coal-field some ten years earlier. Pits were being sunk and iron-works opened in the wild sequestered valleys among the Glamorgan hills; railways were spreading wherever coal and iron were to

* His first wife was Annabella, daughter of Richard Beadon, Esq. She died in 1852, leaving one son and three daughters. In 1854 he married Norah, youngest daughter of Lieut.-General Sir William Napier. She survived her husband, and died in 1897. There were three sons and seven daughters of the second marriage.

be won, and workers came pouring in like a flood to settle where there was no ready-made organisation to meet their needs spiritual, social, educational, sanitary.

Henry Bruce took up his work with cheerful alacrity. "Nothing," he writes to a friend, "could have happened more fortunately for me. The absolute necessity of attending to my duties has supplied me with a motive to order and regularity which I never should have found in my own nature. I am virtuous on compulsion."

His official duties afforded him ample leisure, and the spectacle of all the darker aspects of the industrial revolution presented by a police court, the destitution, immorality and ignorance he saw around him, appealed irresistibly to his large-hearted and serious nature. In the letter already quoted from, he says: "I read to-day in a country newspaper a recipe—'how to die without accomplishing anything.' 'Always intend to do something great hereafter, but neglect the present humble opportunity of usefulness.'" Henceforth he was, to the best of his strength and means, at the service of every good social cause. At his own doors, in the new-born village of Mountain Ash, now a vigorous urban district with over 30,000 inhabitants, there was a church to be built, elementary schools to be started, and the first growth of social and civic life to be nursed and tended.

Two lectures, which he delivered at Merthyr in 1850 and 1851, one on "Amusements as the means of continuing and extending the education of the working classes," and the other on the "condition and future prospects of the working population in the mineral districts of South Wales," throw much light on his attitude towards social questions. In both lectures he draws a dark picture of the industrial revolution in its social aspects, but he is careful to impress two facts upon his audience :

Firstly, that the condition of the working population in the mineral districts of South Wales was not due to any want of material prosperity :—

"I know no other part of the Empire in which, one year with another, wages range so high, food and fuel are so cheap and plentiful, and workmen's dwelling-houses so substantial and convenient."

And, secondly, he would not let the manufacturing system be held responsible for the evils which accompanied its developments, or allow that "the increase of national wealth is but the increase of national misery."

"If wealth had not been so blindly and recklessly pursued as the one great object of life—if those who collected great bodies of men together for their own selfish purposes, without making any provision for their religious and intellectual education, had been from the first sensible of their duties and responsibilities—many, if not most, of these evils might have been avoided. We are now suffering for the neglect and selfishness of the first founders of the system, but we are also beginning to reap some of the advantages of a wiser and more humane policy."

His foreign travels and studies had brought home to him the backwardness of this country in the work of social improvement, and he deals very faithfully with his countrymen and with the town in which he was speaking, and of which he was soon to become the Parliamentary representative.

"The people of Great Britain are ever inclined to pride themselves on their sense, their humanity, and their political wisdom. That they have these qualities in a very high degree, and that they apply them to certain objects with remarkable success, it would be absurd to deny. But is it not enough to make one doubt their

sense, humanity, and political wisdom, when with such immense means at their disposal, with so much political knowledge and experience to guide them, we find them so far behind the nations of Europe in providing for the comfort, the education, the happiness of the great mass of the people. I can imagine the astonishment of an intelligent foreigner, aware of British wealth and liberality, and having heard, as most of them have heard, of the great capital of the iron manufactories of South Wales, I can imagine the surprise of such a person if, when inquiring into the provision made for the well-being of the working classes of Merthyr, and asking, What hospitals had been erected for the sick or wounded? What almshouses endowed for the aged and helpless? What institutions, what saving banks, supported for the encouragement of economical habits? What libraries founded, what gardens, athenæums, and places of recreation provided for the enjoyment and improvement of the labouring population? I were to inform him that nothing of all this had been done, that the people were left entirely to themselves and their own resources, that there was not a fifth-rate town in France or Germany which was not more honourably distinguished by its care for the poor than this wealthy and important place."

Then as now, or then even more than now, it was pleaded that there were the rates, and that with their payment the claims of the poor had been met. To which he replies :—

"Have we done enough? If the Poor Law still leaves a vast, vicious, corrupt population, dangerous to themselves, and to those above them, ought we to rest satisfied and to make no further effort to relieve or amend them? The Poor Law, I repeat, is but a necessary evil.

It is a charity bestowed grudgingly, received thanklessly, and leaving the recipient poorer than it found him. In this Union we spend annually some £20,000 in relieving, doubtless, much misery, but also, in sowing the seeds of infinitely more. Were but a small portion of that sum judiciously expended in educating the poor wisely and usefully, in fitting them for lives of honest labour, in providing them with counter-attractions to drunkenness and debauchery, in manly sports and innocent and improving recreations, we should be laying the axe to the root of half the misery and vice which exist around us."

Education was to his mind, as might be expected, the only remedy that would be permanent in its effects. But while he was already deeply engaged in providing the formal education of the school-room, he knew that it must be long ere that could be made to cover more than an inconsiderable fraction of each worker's life, and he was eager to preach the gospel of rational amusement as an instrument of educational and social progress.

"I have anxiously asked myself: How will the character of the coming generation be affected by the sort of instruction it is now receiving? Will the few years spent in the schools now rising around us really elevate the minds, strengthen the morality, and expand the understanding of the working classes? Will they be sufficiently convinced of the advantages of knowledge to carry on, amid the occupations and temptations of their future life, the work of self-instruction, convinced that where there is no progress there is stagnation? Parents can seldom be induced to allow them to remain at school during the all-important years which follow early childhood, when the mind has just begun to open itself, and the character to be moulded. At the very moment, therefore, when instruction really begins to tell upon

them, they are carried off to the rolling-mill or the colliery, where the little they have learned is speedily forgotten, and new maxims, new principles are readily imbibed. What, then, is the remedy for an evil, the extent of which all must admit, and which no increase in the number of schools or schoolmasters is calculated to meet? To me, the simplest, most natural, most efficacious instrument of redemption, seems to be to provide, or to assist the working classes to provide, those means of innocent pleasure, of social enjoyment, where recreation may lead on insensibly to refinement, and pursuits commenced for the mere purpose of amusement and relaxation may gradually improve the manners, elevate the tone, and expand the intellect, of those who little suspect the transformation they are undergoing."

He is quite prepared to invoke State aid for the work if private benevolence and voluntary associations will not take up the burden :—

" If whatever is most necessary to the health of mind no less than the health of body of those by whose labour we live and prosper be thus habitually and flagrantly neglected, they have a right to expect that the Government of this country will at last interfere, and that public funds will be devoted to objects which no one can deny to be of public interest and essential to the public welfare. If the Government is right in stepping between the working man and starvation, why should we object to its interference between him and immorality? "

In the Autumn of 1852 Mr. Bruce resigned his magistracy, and in December was returned unopposed as Member of Parliament for Merthyr, taking his seat on the night of the memorable debate on Disraeli's Budget. He remained Member for Merthyr until his

defeat at the General Election of 1868, and from 1868 to 1873 he sat for Renfrewshire.

Mr. Bruce came of a Tory family and worked his own way to Liberalism. That he was not attracted by Whig tradition and doctrine may be surmised from the fact that he used to say the best speech of his early days was one delivered at a debating society in which he maintained that Algernon Sidney was no true patriot. Nor had he much sympathy with the Manchester School view of the functions of the State. He wished to see freedom given to individual effort and voluntary association, but where these showed themselves unable to cope with problems of national importance he was ready to invoke State action. In the lecture on the condition of the working population of South Wales already quoted, he was careful to explain that the State action he contemplated was a very different thing from "paternal government" under which men, "in spite of the progress of wealth and education, are doomed to a state of perpetual childhood." He did not wish to see the people contented with their present share of political power.

"As long as the desire of political power, however mixed it may be with extravagant ideas and expectations, urges men to self-improvement and inspires them with a sense of the dignity of their nature, it is not, in my opinion, the proper subject of ridicule or discouragement. In a free country, I think that danger quite as great which arises from an apathetic indifference to politics as from too eager an interest in them. My idea of the British Constitution is that it is sufficiently elastic to admit to a share of political power all those whom education and good conduct have qualified for the trust." His real sympathies, on entering Parliament, were with the

Peelites, and until 1862, when he first became a member of the Government, he spoke and voted as an independent Liberal. As was natural in a man whose political opinions were the result of a gradual though continuous development, his earnestness as a reformer was tempered by great caution. He had no faith in rapid progress. He held that "all changes in the national policy are worthless which do not reflect changes in the national character," and he was convinced that a sound political constitution, in the words of his favourite Dryden,

> "Is not the hasty product of a day,
> But the well-ripened fruit of wise delay."

During this period, though he was disabled for two years by a serious illness, his reputation as a man of sound judgment and capacity for affairs grew rapidly. He took an active part in the industrial development of South Wales, as Deputy Chairman of the Vale of Neath Railway and as a Managing Trustee, with the late Mr. G. T. Clark, of the Dowlais Iron and Steel Works, and bore his share of county business as Vice-Chairman of the Glamorgan Quarter Sessions. Administrative talent thus ripened and tried by experience soon obtained recognition in higher quarters and he was offered, but declined, the Governorship of Madras, as well as the post of Financial Member of the Indian Council. In November, 1862, he took office as Under Secretary for the Home Department in Lord Palmerston's last Ministry, the Home Secretary being Sir George Grey, for whose public and private virtues he had the warmest admiration. It is not always that a rising politician finds that his first post in a Ministry is one for which he is specially prepared or suited, but in this case the selection could clearly be justified on those grounds, and, although Lord Palmerston's

Government did not afford much encouragement to reformers, there was no lack of opportunity at the Home Office for administrative zeal and talent. He remained in this post little more than a year, during which period the most important legislative measure with which he was concerned was the extension of the Factory Acts to the Pottery districts. He prepared himself by a visit to Staffordshire. "I have seen," he writes, "many of the principal manufactories, and talked with many men of all classes. They are evidently afraid of the introduction of the Factory Acts, and I have no doubt they will cause some temporary inconvenience. But I see no other means of securing education and health."

In April, 1864, he became Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, in succession to Mr. Lowe, and continued in that office till the fall of Lord Russell's Ministry in June, 1866. Education was then only a part of the Vice-President's duties, and in the last year of the Ministry had to share his time and attention with the cattle plague, cholera, and vaccination; but his interest in the subject, which had always been great, was now confirmed by official experience, and he devoted much of his time before the General Election of 1868 to help on the great educational movement which found expression in the Elementary Education Act, 1870.

The "sixties" were years of active preparation for that great event. There was then, it will be remembered, no local organisation or rate for elementary schools. The State had given grants since 1833, and the Committee of Council on Education had existed since 1839, but there was still nothing that could be called a national system. There was no compulsory attendance, no compulsory Conscience Clause. The famous "Revised Code" of 1861 endeavoured to secure that State aid should only be

given for good work done, but it was based on educational principles which have since been condemned, and it seems to have been intended to check the growth of the Government grant as much as for any other purpose. "I can promise," said Mr. Lowe, in introducing it in the House of Commons in 1862, "that this system shall be either one thing or the other; if it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." Opinion in Parliament and in the country was, of course, greatly divided. Some objected to the growth of State aid, but objected still more to aid from the rates. Others were alarmed because State aid, being only given to meet voluntary effort, was becoming a serious charge without reaching districts and classes of the people which were most in need of it. Some feared the monopoly of the Church of England, others objected to all change as likely to interfere with it. To a large and rapidly growing number an Education rate seemed to be inevitable, but the central question was, as it has been ever since, what then is to become of denominational schools. The Report of the Popular Education Commission of 1858 appeared in 1861. The Revised Code with "payment by results" carried out part of its recommendations, but the Commissioners further recommended the establishment of Education Boards for counties and for boroughs of over 40,000 inhabitants, and the distribution of rate aid on the same principle of payment by results as that applied to the Government grants.

Mr. Bruce was a sincere and active Churchman, but he had early come to the conclusion that the claim of the Church to control popular education was inconsistent with a national system. Speaking on the Education Estimates in 1860, he told the House that, as trustee of a large property (the Dowlais Works), he had found

schools for 2,300 children, not a tenth of whom belonged to the Church, and that he had therefore disconnected the schools from the National Society and attached them to the British and Foreign Society. "The position," he continued, "in which he stood to that locality was exactly the position in which the State stood to all Wales. And he would ask the House, was it right to take the public money and apply it to the education of Dissenting children in Church schools." It seems that this protest had something of novelty about it, as he writes to his wife next day that "Pakington complimented me on the 'admirable tone' of my remarks, and Lowe told me what I had said had produced a great impression and would set people thinking, and was just what the Privy Council wanted."

The first attempt at legislation after the Report of 1861 was the "Education of the Poor" Bill introduced by Mr. Bruce, Mr. W. E. Forster and Mr. Egerton late in the Session of 1867, a year after Mr. Bruce had left the Privy Council office. The Bill was permissive only. Its provisions could be adopted by a majority of the rate-payers, and were to be carried out by a committee appointed in boroughs by the Town Council, and in other districts by occupiers on the rate-book. The committee was empowered to build and manage new schools and to give free education and denominational or undenominational instruction, as they might think fit. Other schools might place themselves in union with the committee and obtain rate aid, the main conditions being that they should be subject to inspection both central and local, be conducted in conformity with the Code, and have an effective conscience clause; but otherwise the local committee would not be able to interfere with the "constitution, arrangements,

discipline or instruction, religious or secular, of any united school."

In moving the Second Reading (July 10, 1867) Mr. Bruce summed up the defects of the existing system by quoting the Secretary to the Education Department, Mr. Lingen, who had said "that a system of education could not be at the same time voluntary, efficient, and universal. If it were universal and efficient, it could not be voluntary. If, on the other hand, it were voluntary, it could not be efficient and universal."

He confessed that the Bill had been framed with a view to avoid offence, even to feelings which the promoters might regard as unreasonable, and with the wish to disturb the voluntary system as little as possible. He avowed his own belief that every district ought to be obliged to provide full school accommodation and that attendance should be compulsory, but he did not think it wise to attempt all this at once, or until the Factory Acts and other influences had awakened in the working classes a deeper sense of the importance of education. A measure of decentralisation would be among the most potent of these influences.

Coming to the denominational question, he said: "Speaking for myself, I should wish to see public education conducted, where possible, in denominational schools: because I hold it to be as important that a child should receive a full religious education, as that it should receive a full secular one. But we have to adapt our system to the wants of a population unhappily divided in religious opinions; and therefore, without destroying the denominational system, or unduly disfavouring it, we must provide the means by which children of different religious opinions can be educated together without any violation of those opinions." He expressed the fear that

the opposition to the Bill was due in great part to a desire to "perpetuate Church supremacy—a desire which in times past has proved most injurious to the Church, and the departure from which has invariably resulted in communicating to her additional strength and vigour."

The Bill was withdrawn, but, encouraged by the rapid growth of interest in the subject all over the country, he introduced it again in 1868, but this time with provisions for enforcing an adequate supply of schools. On this occasion he drew attention to the necessity of a proper local organisation and a convenient rating area as a condition of anything like a national system of education, and returning to the religious difficulty he said, in words which sound strangely familiar: —

"Leaving the Roman Catholics out of the question, it might be considered that the matter was one in which the people themselves took little interest. What they wanted was a good education, and they turned a deaf ear to the theological difficulties with which certain persons delighted to encumber the discussion of a national system. . . . His right hon. friend (Mr. Lowe) and others maintained that the only logical basis of national education was the secular system. It was the wish, however, of the immense majority of the people that their children should receive an unsectarian education. Let the nation have therefore a good universal system of secular education provided by the State, leaving it to the locality to decide what the religious character of the teaching should be."

This Bill was also withdrawn, and when the next was introduced in 1870 as the great Government measure of the Session, though his name appeared on the back, his friend Mr. Forster was the Minister in charge.

In Mr. Gladstone's first Administration Mr. Bruce

was Home Secretary until the re-construction of the Ministry in August, 1873. His tenure of that office is chiefly remembered in connection with the Licensing Bill of 1871, which proposed in effect (1) that licences should be sold by local authorities to the highest bidder, the produce of the sale being devoted to public objects; (2) that holders of existing licences should have their interest recognised for a limited number of years, and (3) that localities should have a limited right of control over the number of public-houses in their area. Its withdrawal was due, perhaps, as much to the dissatisfaction of the extreme Temperance party on his own side as to the hostility of the threatened trade in alliance with the regular opposition; and his reputation suffered, as was natural, from the failure to carry the Bill, and from its adverse influence on the fortunes of the Party at the General Election. But it has since been generally admitted that the Bill was in itself in no way unworthy to rank with the other great measures of that famous Administration. The Licensing Bill which he introduced and carried in the following Session was merely a useful police measure regulating the hours of closing and making provision for the more orderly conduct of public-houses. His most considerable legislative achievements were the Trades Union Act of 1871 and the Mines Regulation Act of 1872.

At the end of the Session of 1873, Mr. Bruce succeeded Lord Ripon as Lord President of the Council, and was raised to the Peerage as Lord Aberdare. He held this office till the fall of the Gladstone Ministry in the following spring. With that event ended his career as a Minister and his active participation in party politics. For the remaining twenty-one years of his life he attended the sittings of the House of Lords with fair regularity,

took his share of work on Committees, and voted steadily on the Liberal side; but he spoke seldom there or in the country on purely political subjects. His last political speech of any importance, was delivered at the opening of a Liberal Club in Aberdare, February 2, 1888, when he made a frank statement of his views on Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment. Standing aloof as he did from the stress of party politics, he had not been obliged to make up his mind in a hurry on the Irish problem, and he now made a public declaration for the first time of his conviction that Mr. Gladstone's policy was right, whatever might be the defects of any plan for carrying it into execution.

Turning to the question of Disestablishment, he pointed out that he could not approach it from the same point of view as that of the majority of his audience. He had no objection to Establishment in principle, and he had all his life taken a warm interest in the Church to which he belonged, and had done his best to promote its interests. He had not, however, been blind to its shortcomings. In 1848 he had written in a letter to the Press:—

"The present lamentable state of the Church in Wales is attributable to various circumstances. The expulsion of the clergy during the time of the Commonwealth; the spiritual neglect of Wales after the Restoration; the appointment of illiterate and improper ministers during the century which followed; the non-residence and inattention of the Bishops until very late times; the enormous abuse of pluralities; the miserably defective state of clerical education up to the present day, and the insulting indifference to the spiritual welfare of the majority evinced by the appointment of pastors ignorant of the language and habits of the flocks." He also quoted as justly applicable to Wales Bishop Berkeley's query—

"Whether there be any instance of a people being converted, in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching to them and instructing them in their own language?"

But he bore emphatic testimony to the marked progress achieved by the Church in Wales, and repudiated the description of it as "alien." He had voted for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church without hesitation, because it had been forced on an unwilling people and had been made the instrument of oppression, often cruel, always irritating.

"When, a year or two afterwards, Mr. Miall, seconded by Mr. Henry Richard, brought forward a motion for the Disestablishment of the English Church, I was asked by Mr. Gladstone to oppose the motion. I did so, not relying mainly on the principle of an establishment, but because I believed that the Church of England was supported by a considerable majority of the people of England and Wales. I said that if the position were reversed, and it could be shown that the majority had withdrawn from the Establishment, and that it ceased thereby to be a national institution, the case would be altered. For this expression of opinion I was severely rebuked by Lord Selborne, then Sir Roundell Palmer, who objected to the low ground I had taken. He was consistent with himself, and I, too, must be consistent with myself.

"During the sixteen years that I represented this borough I cannot remember that the question of disestablishing the Church in Wales as apart from the Church of England, was ever discussed in Parliament. It was then considered that the two questions must stand or fall together. I do not think it would be just to blame your then representative for this omission, for the question of Welsh nationality had at that time received

but little prominence. Perhaps one reason was that until the Reform Bill of 1868 had largely extended the suffrage, hardly a Nonconformist member ever found his way into Parliament. So far as I can recollect, between the years 1852 and 1868 there was not a single Nonconformist representative for Wales. All this was altered by the enlarged constituencies; many eminent Nonconformists were returned and made themselves heard. Wales began to assert her national existence, and to protest against the neglect with which she had been treated. She did so firmly, resolutely, and in a manner which secured the respect of all parties, and if there is one member more than another to whom this change was due, it is beyond all question our friend and representative, Mr. Henry Richard. It was his earnestness, his knowledge, his eloquence, which raised the Welsh question into one of importance which henceforth it would be impossible to overlook or neglect."

He proceeded to point out how the Report of the Enquiry into Higher Education had rested the claim of Wales to separate treatment, on the grounds that her language, traditions, Celtic origin, and geographical position, put her in a similar position to that of Scotland and Ireland, and he continued—

"When we come to apply these principles to the question of the Church in Wales, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that Wales is entitled to have this question considered and decided with reference to the wants and wishes of her population. If this be so, and the fortunes of the Church in Wales are no longer indissolubly linked with those of the Church of England, I am afraid, and I say it with deep regret, that, attached as I am to my own Church, I ought not to oppose my personal wishes and feelings to the convictions and

desires of the great majority of the population. Personally, I would have desired this subject not to have been brought forward; but it has come to the point, and it is my duty to consider it not with reference to my own wishes, but to those of the great majority who have left the Church, because she deserted them, and who have sought and found elsewhere satisfaction for their religious wants."

When Mr. Gladstone formed his second Administration in 1880, Lord Aberdare accepted his exclusion without any trace of vexation or irritation.*

He had already found that, for a man of his gifts and position, there was no lack of honourable and interesting work in the service of the community outside of Parliament. His services as chairman were constantly in request. On the nomination of successive Governments he presided over Royal Commissions on Noxious Vapours (1876), Reformatory and Industrial Schools (1881), the Aged Poor (1893). The last-named task was undertaken with reluctance and misgiving at the urgent request of Mr. Gladstone. It was his final act of devotion to his great leader and to his own sense of public duty. He had not previously made a close study of the problem; he did not believe it to be ripe for solution; and he felt that the constitution of the Commission made any practical outcome hopeless. He was seventy-eight years

*Sir Algernon West, in his *Recollections*, vol. 1. p. 352, quotes from a friend's letter as follows:—"Bruce's character was in some respects one of the finest with which I have ever been acquainted in public life. I could see no self-seeking in him anywhere. He was not without ambition and he liked office; but he accepted his exclusion, when it came, without a murmur, and without a disloyal thought towards the party or the chief who set him aside. I know no greater test of character than this. The fact that he was omitted from the Cabinet of 1880, and that his official life was closed, seemed to make no difference to him at all. He was ready ever afterwards to take any public work that came to him, and to do it with all his own earnestness and zeal."

of age, and the strain of these unfavourable conditions made an excessive demand upon his failing strength and probably shortened his life.

Welsh education which filled so important a place in the last twenty years of his life by no means monopolised his interest in education. He was President of the British and Foreign School Society, and as a member of the Council, and later as President, of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company, and as President of Somerville College, Oxford, he took an active part in the promotion of the higher education of women, which was probably the most important educational movement of the latter half of the Nineteenth Century.

Outside of education, the work which interested him most was that of the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was President (1880-87), and the Royal Niger Company, of which he was the first Governor, though of course he leant heavily on the shoulder of Sir George Goldie, the founder and organiser of that enterprise and of the great dependency which has grown out of it. In a letter to Sir G. Goldie, written less than four months before his death, after speaking of the truth of Burke's pathetic saying: "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue," he added "and yet not wholly so, if no small part of our pursuit is the good of millions of our fellow-creatures as I know ours to be."

To complete this account of the diversity of his interests and labours it may be added that he was also President of the Royal Historical Society, the Royal Horticultural Society, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to each of which, at various periods, he gave much time and attention.

It was in the declining years of a life thus crowded with varied and useful public activities, and with the

other cares and pleasures incidental to a large family, a considerable estate, and wide social popularity, that Lord Aberdare achieved the educational work which in a special degree gives him a place in this volume.

His general attitude towards the Elementary School problem has already been described, but it may be interesting to record his opinion on the use of the Welsh language in these schools which he delivered to the National Eisteddfod at Aberdare in 1885. The question had lately been brought prominently forward by the Cymmrodorion Society. Lord Aberdare stated his conviction after a study of their publications, that the teaching of Welsh should not be made compulsory, but he added that there was nothing to prevent the trial of the experiment, subject to two conditions :—

"One is that the large majority of the children at those schools shall be Welsh-speaking children, and the other is that the masters and mistresses shall not only be Welsh-speaking, but shall be capable of teaching Welsh grammatically. I have no doubt that in many parts of Wales the first of these conditions can be fulfilled. But the difficulty of getting masters and mistresses to teach the Welsh language grammatically, though not insurmountable, is one that strikes us strongly at the present moment. We must also recollect that Wales is very largely compounded now of a population speaking English, and speaking English exclusively. At our schools we have children of both descriptions, and of course it would be simply tyrannical, as it would be absurd, to insist on English children learning in Welsh in order that they might learn English through Welsh. These are difficulties to be overcome, but difficulties are made to be overcome, and I should like myself to have the experiment tried.

"My own feeling is this—that the children who are systematically taught Welsh would learn English and other subjects fully as fast, if not faster than if they were not taught Welsh. May I refer to an incident in my own memory? When Mr. Lowe brought forward his Revised Code for education, I moved in the House of Commons an amendment which was this—that the annual examination of children in Wales should take place a year later than that of children in England, and I did it on the ground, not that the Welsh children were less clever or less forward than English children, but that they had the great difficulty to contend with of learning English in order that they might learn other things. Mr. Lowe, I remember, answered me in this way. He said, 'I quite admit the reasonableness of this proposition, but I have taken great pains to make enquiries in Wales, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in the West of Ireland, and I have found that so decidedly does the learning of this language sharpen the intellect, that in spite of that difficulty, children of seven years of age in Wales and in the Celtic districts of Ireland and Scotland pass quite as good an examination as children of the same age in England.' Well, I succeeded Mr. Lowe as Vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education, and I took great pains to enquire whether the Welsh suffered from the individual examination of children, and I found that it was not so, but that they earned fully as much and passed as good an examination as exclusively English-speaking children."

The passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 was the signal for a remarkable outburst of national feeling, energy, and aspiration in Wales, and it was a good omen for the sincerity and strength of the new movement that its Parliamentary first fruits were the appointment of a

Departmental Committee to enquire into the condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales and to recommend measures for its improvement. The part played by Lord Aberdare as Chairman of that Committee, and his contribution to the work of carrying into effect its far-reaching recommendations are the chief and most solid grounds of his title to the grateful remembrance of the Welsh people. He did not claim to be the originator of the movement, and he always held that Wales owed much more to the late Sir Hugh Owen than to himself in this respect. But from early days he had been proud to follow the lead given by that great patriot, and he recorded with pleasure how it was in his house that Sir Hugh Owen drafted the letter to Mr. Gladstone calling for the Enquiry. Lord Aberdare had satisfied himself that State action was necessary to secure an adequate provision of secondary schools in Wales because voluntary efforts had failed, and the endowed schools were too few, too poor, too unequally distributed, too closely connected with the Church of England; but most of all, perhaps, because experience had proved to him, as to others, how much waste of effort and money was caused in connection with the Aberystwyth College and the University movement, owing to the inadequate means of preparation available for the mass of Welsh students.

In its constitution, methods, and speed, the Departmental Committee was a model Commission of Enquiry. Its members had the right sort of experience, and were representative in the sense of being in touch with the various aspects of the problems before them, but not in the too common sense of being delegates pledged to some foregone conclusion.

Lord Spencer's letter announcing its appointment was

dated August 25, 1880. The Committee signed a unanimous Report on August 18, 1881. Instead of employing Assistant Commissioners for local investigations and of taking evidence only in London, they betook themselves to the people, and heard evidence at fourteen places in Wales and Monmouthshire. This method had not only the merit of giving them a vivid, direct impression of the facts and conditions with which they had to deal; it confirmed and increased the interest already felt in their Enquiry, and served as a real education to those who were ultimately, as governors, or parents, or ratepayers, to make it bear fruit.

The wisdom of this procedure was amply justified by the result. The Report presented conclusions for which public opinion had been well prepared, and which were at once accepted as the basis of action. Better provision for University Education led the way, and if the Intermediate School system tarried till 1889, it was not that the recommendations on that head were less sound or acceptable, but because questions of rating and local government presented difficulties which did not affect the University question and which could not be satisfactorily surmounted before the creation of County Councils in 1888.

In the account of the "Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889: its Origin and Working," contributed by the Charity Commissioners to the second volume of Special Reports on Educational subjects, the recommendations of the Committee dealing with Intermediate or Secondary Education are summarised under twelve heads. It may be said that ten of these are fully embodied in the Welsh County School system of to-day. The remaining two dealt respectively with minor endowments and the establishment of Higher Elementary schools. The

consolidation of small endowments was a feature in each of the four schemes submitted to the Committee by the late Dr. Harper, the late Sir Hugh Owen, the late Mr. Gee, and Sir Marchant Williams, and specially reviewed in the Report. The Committee were more conscious of the difficulties than any of the proposers seem to have been, but they finally recommended consolidation for the purpose of County Exhibition funds as more practicable than the formation of a general endowment fund for the Principality. But even this measure was found to have no effective public opinion behind it, and no serious attempt was made to carry it out by any of the bodies responsible for the administration of the Intermediate Education Act. The particular endowments in question were so small that, unless local claims were to be absolutely ignored, the fund available for county purposes was felt to be not worth the controversy and irritation which its formation would have involved. The recommendation of advanced elementary schools for industrial centres has also been practically ignored, partly because it made no appeal to the popular imagination as the Intermediate School did, partly because the funds available were found to be inadequate for the proper maintenance of the Intermediate Schools which were held to be strictly necessary, and it seemed unfair to burden those funds with a charge which might fairly be borne by the existing authorities for Elementary Education with their unlimited powers of rating. But it is possible that the Committee may yet be justified in this respect, and that it will be recognised that there is still a gap to be filled.

There is not any striking originality in the recommendations of the Report or in the structure of the school system founded upon it. Rate-aid, County area, and

Provincial Body, are all to be found in the Reports of the Schools Enquiry Commission (1864-67). The distinction of the movement lies in the fact that Wales, as soon as it attained to political self-consciousness, at once accepted proposals and grasped at opportunities which England had neglected, and insisted on secondary and higher education being treated as a subject of pre-eminent national importance. The Committee, in their turn, guided the movement with so much sympathy and practical insight, that it has been possible to build up a systematic organisation without checking enthusiasm, and to preserve what was worth preserving in existing institutions while working on popular lines which can be easily adapted to later democratic developments. And the soundness of their principles was so generally recognised, that, although the work fell to be carried out during the years of heat and controversy which led up to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill of 1895, it proved not the occasion for new strife but a new bond of union.

Lord Aberdare did not take an active part in the actual work of construction under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, but he watched the operation with close interest, and lived long enough to see that solid results were assured in every part of the Principality.

With the University movement he was still more closely associated. Here again, he was not among the earliest pioneers. He was not one of the memorable band that met in London in 1854 to consider what steps should be taken to found a Welsh University. He even had doubts about the wisdom of establishing the first Welsh College (1872) at Aberystwyth instead of at some populous centre. But once established, he took a deep interest in it and was its President from January, 1875, to his death. Speaking at the National Eisteddfod of 1878 at Birkenhead,

he made a strong appeal on behalf of University Education in Wales.

"It is by the extension of such colleges as that of Aberystwyth that I look for the intellectual elevation of my countrymen, and for full justice being done to our natural abilities . . . . I have seen predictions, I cannot understand why, that even this first attempt at Aberystwyth is about to fail. I do not believe it. It will not fail. It shall not fail. I believe all we want to do is to understand what our objects are. We are not supplanting Oxford and Cambridge, not preventing Welshmen from going to Oxford or Cambridge; but what we are doing is to bring to the hearths and homes of our people the means of possessing an education equal to that which is given to the people of Scotland and Ireland. There is sometimes a danger that institutions like these Eisteddfodau should divert the mind from the real serious and hard work of education. We are apt to think that, because we have this sort of literary institution among us, we are doing great things, but much as I sympathise with all these efforts, believe me that the amount of work and of talent required for winning a prize at Eisteddfodau is not that which will qualify a man for the arduous work of life. One likes to see the effort made, and one likes to see the exhibition of talent, but we know very well that real education implies heavy, long, steady, and continuous labour, without which nothing can be done; and it is just the means of that steady and continuous labour in higher education in which Wales is wanting."

The Report of the Departmental Committee recommended a University College for North Wales, and another for South Wales, and left the fate of Aberystwyth in a somewhat doubtful light. The rapid development

of the University movement fairly startled Lord Aberdare, as it did many others, and he would candidly admit that, when Aberystwyth pulled through the crisis caused by the establishment of Colleges at Cardiff (1883) and Bangor (1884), it was to be attributed to the indomitable faith and zeal of the whole people, rather than to the foresight of their leaders. He became the first President of the Cardiff College, and from that time he was, in the words of the late Principal Viriamu Jones, "Commander-in-chief of the Welsh Educational army. We marched under his guidance, confident in his wisdom, and helped at all turns by the influence he so rightly possessed."

The great work that still remained was the establishment of a Degree-giving University. He presided over the remarkable educational synods at which its aims and constitution were so anxiously and ably determined, and was the chief mouth-piece in the conferences with Government Departments which preceded the granting of the Royal Charter in 1893. It was a remarkable proof of his unabated sympathy with popular aspirations and with the spirit of progress and growth around him that, when nearing eighty years of age, he could work so heartily and acceptably with men who nearly all belonged to a younger generation and were inspired with the ideas, the enthusiasms, the sanguine aspirations which characterised such men as T. E. Ellis, Isambard Owen, Viriamu Jones.

Lord Aberdare always dwelt earnestly on the popular character of Welsh educational institutions. Speaking at the opening of the Cardiff College in 1883 he said :—

"These colleges must rest on a broad and popular basis. Unless cordially adopted by the entire population as thoroughly national in their character, their principles,

their aims and objects, no amount of external aid, no sympathetic encouragement of the rich, no fostering efforts of the State, will give them strength and vitality."

The spontaneity of the movement was constantly impressing itself on his mind. In his conversation and letters he would tell with enthusiasm of the sacrifices he knew poor students were making both for themselves and for others, and he followed step by step and remembered for many years the educational history and triumphs of many a humble Welsh youth. For example, in a letter to one of his family in 1893, he sends the following story:—

"David —— who has won one of the County Council Scholarships and is now a student of the Cardiff University College, is a young man who has worked as a miner in the coal pit since he was twelve years of age. He very nearly succeeded in winning this scholarship last year, and but for his self-denying efforts to assist his brother Tom, who then succeeded, he would also have been successful.

"The brotherly love of these two brothers has been remarkable. David, working hard in the coal-pit, kept his brother Tom out of the pit, and maintained him for nine months to prepare for the examination which he successfully passed. Nor did Tom forget his debt of gratitude to his brother David. During the recent vacation Tom came home from college, put on the working clothes of his brother David, went down the pit to work in his place, and gave David ten weeks to prepare for his examination. Now these two brothers, having so assisted one another, are fellow students of the college."

With a dramatic fitness Lord Aberdare's election by unanimous vote to be the first Chancellor of the University of Wales came within a month of his death. He

writes to one of his children on February 11, 1895, "Nothing could be kinder or more cordial than the manner in which the Chancellorship was conferred on me. I feel too old for it, but urged the argument in vain. But as I could not reasonably expect to be chosen Archbishop to disestablished Wales, nor to succeed Prince Llewelyn in his temporarily suspended dignity, I feel that Wales could bestow on me no greater honour." These playful words were the utterance of really deep feelings. Though he did not know how near the end was, for he died a fortnight later after a few days' illness, he knew his race was run, and this honourable mark of his countrymen's gratitude and affection came to set a final stamp upon the work that was nearest his heart.

This brief account of his educational activities and opinions may fittingly be concluded by recalling his own eloquent summary of his mind on the progress of Welsh education delivered at Cardiff in 1883:—

"These indeed are but the framework of an educational system. That is all a Government can give. Life, animation, activity, must be breathed into it by ourselves I well know that the growth of such institutions must be gradual; I shall not be disappointed if it be slow; I deprecate spasmodic efforts and intermittent energy. But I do hope to see my countrymen rally steadily and in increasing numbers round these our new Colleges; I do trust that these may firmly root themselves in the national respect and affection as conferring inestimable blessings on our children's children; and that institutions called for by the united voice of Wales may, ere many years be past, fulfil the dearest hopes of those good men, living and dead, who, with much disinterested zeal, laboured to rear them for the lasting benefit of their country.

Readers of this volume will have materials for forming their own opinions as to the relative degrees of service rendered to Wales by those who are here commemorated. Lord Aberdare's judgment on his own career was a characteristically modest one. Writing to an intimate friend in 1893 he says:—"I hope I have not lived a wholly useless life, having lived so pleasant a one. But I don't deceive myself. In goodwill to my fellow creatures I am not wanting, and this has sometimes inspired action. But of original ideas I have had none. I put my shoulder to the wheel when others have set it going."

It would be an exaggeration to rank Lord Aberdare among great statesmen or leaders of men. He had no exceptional political insight or force. He was not an orator or even a brilliant speaker. But to thorough culture and sound judgment of men and things, he united the candour and sincerity, the desire to use talents, position, and wealth, for the good of others, the determination to get some solid practical result from all he undertook, which do so much to keep public life wholesome and to make it bear good fruit. To the service of Wales he brought a combination of qualities which were particularly well suited to the needs of the time. The native supply of enthusiasm and ideas was abundant, but Wales was fortunate in finding also among its sons a man who not only enjoyed great personal popularity, the respect and confidence of men of all classes and many shades of opinion, and a consummate gift of chairmanship, but had won for himself a consideration and influence outside the Principality which did much to secure a respectful and sympathetic treatment of Welsh educational demands and aspirations.

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS.

SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS.

By GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL.

IN attempting, at the Editor's request, to construct a portrait of Sir George Lewis, I have discovered that his personality and work have fallen into a complete oblivion. He left no direct descendants, and the kinsfolk who now bear his name and possess his property preserve only some faint memories and scanty traditions of their distinguished forerunner. When this is so within the circle of the family, it is natural that the general public should be even more oblivious of a man who died forty-four years ago and left no very conspicuous mark on the record either of literature or of politics. Under these circumstances, I cannot better introduce my subject than by quoting two descriptions of Sir George Lewis, contributed to the public Press by anonymous but well-informed writers, within a few days of his decease. It will be seen that these two writers incline to slightly different estimates of Lewis's powers; but a combination of the two will probably give us a tolerably accurate notion of the man and his work. "Sir George Cornewall Lewis was, perhaps, the only one of our literary statesmen who showed himself better fitted for politics than literature. In literature, his want of originality was a great defect. In politics, under ordinary circumstances, and especially in England, it is a great recommendation. He was a sober-minded, practical, and avowedly party man, with an immense power for work and a clear head for business. As a writer, we observe in him a great thirst for truth and exact knowledge, and this seems often to have led him into placing

his ideas on paper, as much as, or even more than, any passion for the use of his pen. In neither capacity, then, was he a great man; but in both he has left behind him a reputation for usefulness and honesty that will not easily be surpassed."

The second estimate is distinctly more generous. "Sir George Lewis was not a showy character, and especially he did not shine much in those debates from which the country at large learns to estimate the position of a Minister; but his wonderful power of mastering any subject, his clear head, his sound sense, and his practical ability, were fully recognized, and, in spite of his slow and hesitating manner, his voice had an authority in the House of Commons which men of much more eloquence might have envied. In that critical assembly, the most critical in the world, no one commanded more attention when he chose to speak, and no man was more entirely trusted. A doubt might attach to the speeches of other Ministers—this one might be supposed to be careless, that to be occasionally ill-informed, and a third to be capable of intentional ambiguity. It was certain that Sir George Lewis would always be accurate and truthful; and he more than made up for the want of brilliancy by the worth of his character and by the completeness of his work. There are not a few men in Parliament who have combined literary ability with skilful statesmanship; but it is rare to see that kind of literary ability which he displayed combined with legislative and practical talents. He was unquestionably the most learned Englishman of his generation; he was one of the most learned men of any time. His erudition included all ancient and modern literature, and it was as accurate as it was extensive. Much of it was of a sort which is supposed to belong only to a recluse. Under such loads of learning most

intellects are unable to move, and are at last content with the effort of merely bearing the burden. Sir George Lewis moved freely under his weight of knowledge, and, while he was oppressed with cares of office, and with the necessity of being every night in his place in Parliament, he could find leisure to disport himself in some dungeon of forgotten lore, and would astonish the world by his elaborate research into the abstruser questions of ancient history and philosophy."

So much by way of personal estimate. We turn now to the facts of Lewis's life, and take them, as far as we can, in chronological order.

The family of Lewis has been settled on the beautiful estate of Harpton, near Kington, in Radnorshire, at least since 1552. The heads of the family in successive generations served the public in various capacities, civil and military, and attained an increasing prominence in political life. Thomas Frankland Lewis (1780—1855), having spent a lifetime in Parliament and political office, was created a Baronet in 1846.* He married Harriet Cornewall, a daughter of the long-descended house of Cornewall, of Moccas in Herefordshire, and by her he had two sons. Theelder of these was born on October 21, 1806, and was christened "George Cornewall" in honour of his mother's family.

George Cornewall Lewis, the subject of the present sketch, was sent, when quite a child, to a private school at Chelsea, kept by a Monsieur Clement, whose skill

* Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis was directly descended from Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell's daughter, Frances, married Sir John Russell, and had a daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Frankland, second baronet. This Lady Frankland's fourth son, Henry, was the father of Sir Thomas Frankland, fifth baronet, whose daughter Anne married John Lewis of Harpton, and was the mother of Sir Thomas Frankland Lewis, Bart.

in teaching colloquial French was the beginning of his pupil's linguistic attainments, afterwards so remarkable. From Chelsea George Lewis went, in January, 1819, to Eton, where he was surrounded by a band of schoolfellows destined to be famous in Church and State—among them William Ewart Gladstone. At Eton, Lewis made great progress in classical scholarship, specially distinguishing himself in the Latin versification for which Eton has always been famous. He was a delicate boy, shy and retiring, and had no taste for schoolboys' games; and in his later years he looked back on his school with a very unfriendly eye. He lavished bitter criticism on the Eton Latin grammar, and the Eton method of teaching; while, with regard to the fagging system which plays so great a part in the discipline of all public schools, he wrote that it is "the only regular institution of slave-labour, enforced by brute violence, which now exists in these islands."

Leaving Eton at Christmas, 1823, and subsequently spending some months abroad, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in October, 1824. At Easter, 1828, he obtained a first class in classics, and a second in mathematics; and in the following summer was appointed to a "studentship" of Christ Church, in recognition of his exemplary character and successful diligence. On leaving Oxford, he went up to London, and studied jurisprudence under the illustrious John Austin. In 1831 he was called to the Bar, but his delicate health soon compelled him to relinquish practice, and he plunged into that life of tranquil and profound study, which, all through his career, seemed to him the only true enjoyment. His classical learning was the strong foundation on which he built a wonderful superstructure of literary knowledge,—French, German, Italian, Spanish,

Provençal, and Anglo-Saxon: the diversity and range of his general studies will be mentioned later on. But now the time was at hand when he was to be summoned, at least for a while, from the studious retirement which he loved to the active pursuits of public service. It was a frequent, and to some extent a just, reproach to the Whig Government of that date that, after the great and victorious struggle for the Reform Bill of 1832, they rewarded their political friends by making them members of unnecessary but well-paid commissions. "The whole earth," said Sydney Smith, "is in commission, and the human race, saved from the Flood, are delivered over to Barristers of Six Years' standing. The burden of proof now lies upon any man who says he is not a Commissioner; the only doubt on seeing a new man among the Whigs is, not whether he is a Commissioner or not, but whether it is Tithes, Poor Law, Boundaries of Boroughs, Church-leases, or any of the thousand human concerns which are now worked by Commissioners." So it was with young George Lewis. His father was a Tory of the school of Canning; but the son had already imbibed Liberal opinions, and the Whigs, on the look-out for fresh blood, generously welcomed the new recruit. In 1833 he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner to enquire into the state of the Poorer Classes in Ireland. In 1834 he was made a Commissioner to enquire into Religious and other Instruction in Ireland. In 1836 he was made Joint Commissioner to enquire into the affairs of Malta. In 1839 he was chosen to fill the place which his father vacated on the new Poor Law Commission for England and Wales, and this post he held until 1847. In all these various offices George Lewis displayed his characteristic diligence thoroughness, and openness of mind. His successive reports took rank as valuable

State-Papers, and he began to be recognized as an authority on various problems of civil administration. But the Poor Law Commission was generally unpopular. By its rigid adherence to economic pedantry, it outraged humane sentiment; it was exposed to cross-fires of hostile criticism, and its internal relations were by no means harmonious. Lewis found his position irksome and ungrateful, and he resigned his commissionership in July, 1847,—just in time to take a new step which marked an important stage in his career. Lord John Russell was now Prime Minister; and he dissolved Parliament in July, 1847. Lewis came forward as Liberal candidate for Herefordshire, and was returned without a contest as one of the three Members for the County. The reputation which he had made out of doors followed him into the House, and in November, 1847, he was appointed one of the Secretaries to the Board of Control, which then administered the affairs of India. In May, 1848, he was transferred to the Under Secretaryship of the Home Office; and in July, 1850, he was promoted to be Financial Secretary to the Treasury. Parliament was dissolved in July, 1852; Herefordshire returned three Conservatives, and Lewis lost his seat. In the following November he stood unsuccessfully at Peterborough and then for a brief space he enjoyed a respite from political strife.

In December, 1852, he accepted the editorship of the "*Edinburgh Review*," then the most important organ of Whig opinion; and he threw himself with immense zest and energy into his new duties. I said before that the diversity and range of his intellectual interests would be noted in due time; some notion of them may be derived from the subjects on which he wrote in the "*Edinburgh*," and these include Archæology, History, Politics, Philosophy, Economics, Logic, Philology, Law, Astronomy,

Jurisprudence, Chronology, the Use and Abuse of Political Terms, the Principles of Government and the Right Method of Treating Dependencies. One, and only one topic, and that of the most vital importance, seems to have escaped his purview. He did not meddle with theology. He was, as we shall see later on, a convinced and sincere Christian; but the controversies whether about faith or practice, which from age to age vex and divide the Christian Church, seem scarcely to have attracted his attention.

Meanwhile Lewis had married, and his marriage was perhaps the wisest, and certainly the happiest, event of his life. On October 26, 1844, he became the husband of Lady Theresa Lister, a widowed daughter of the fourth Lord Clarendon. Lady Theresa was conspicuous for social charm and literary attainment; and in his devotion to her and to her children Lewis found for the first time the joys and satisfactions of domestic life. Solicitude for the health of his stepdaughters* led Lewis to decline, in 1853, the Governorship of Bombay; and he remained immersed in the editorial cares of the "*Edinburgh Review*." In January, 1855, on his father's death, he succeeded to his title and estates, and also to the seat for the Radnor Boroughs which he retained till death.

Lewis re-entered parliamentary life at a highly critical moment. The just and vehement indignation of the House of Commons at the mismanagement of the Crimean War drove the Coalition Government from office at the beginning of the session of 1855. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, with Gladstone (who had been a member of the defeated Coalition) as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Three weeks later, Gladstone resigned; and Lewis was invited by Palmerston to fill the vacant

* One of these ladies married Mr., afterwards Sir, William Harcourt, and was the mother of Mr. Lewis Harcourt, M.P.

place. He became Chancellor of the Exchequer on March 5, 1855, brought in his first Budget on April 20, and retained his great office for three years. This was the crowning point of his career, and the moment is opportune for an enquiry into the impression which he produced upon contemporary observers.

Gladstone, looking back in old age on the events of 1855-8, said to a friend: "When I left Palmerston, I found myself in sharp conflict with Lewis on all matters of finance; one of his doctrines being that you should impose as many small customs duties as you could." For this and other economic heresies (as he esteemed them) Gladstone harried Lewis with the most unsparing vigour. The shrewdest of observers, Charles Greville, wrote in his diary: "Gladstone seems bent on leading Sir George Lewis a weary life, but Lewis is just the man to encounter and baffle such an opponent, for he is cold-blooded as a fish, totally devoid of sensibility or nervousness, of an imperturbable temper, calm and resolute, laborious and indefatigable, and exceedingly popular in the House of Commons from his general good humour and civility, and the credit given him for honour, sincerity, plain dealing, and good intentions."

Lord Granville, looking on at one of these encounters from the Peers' Gallery, pronounced "dear George Lewis so slow and ponderous, and Gladstone more than usually crotchety and refining." Lord Selborne, reviewing in his "Political Memorials" the financial debates of this period, wrote: "When Sir George Lewis was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone condemned with extraordinary vehemence an innocent and commonplace Budget because it did not take off the Income Tax. But during many years afterwards, while he was himself Chancellor

of the Exchequer or Prime Minister, he made no such proposal."

In 1859, when Gladstone had resumed the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, he wrote to his wife that Lewis had "preached low doctrine" with regard to the Budget, adding:—"It confirms me in the belief I have long had, that he was fitter for most other offices than for that which I now hold."

But it is time to turn from general views and impressions to the facts and details of Lewis's policy during the years in which he was responsible for the national finances.

It has often been stated, and it seems consonant with all that we know about his character and opinions, that Lewis had from the first disapproved of the Crimean War, and believed that it might have been avoided. But when he entered Lord Palmerston's Cabinet, the die had long been cast, and he found himself constrained to provide for the inevitable expenses of a campaign not yet near its close. He had to meet a deficiency of twenty-three millions; and in order to do this, he asked for a loan of sixteen millions, and proposed to find the rest by taxation. The Income Tax was increased from fourteen to sixteen pence in the pound. Three shillings a hundred-weight was added to the duty on sugar, a penny a pound to the duty on coffee, threepence a pound to the duty on tea, and two shillings a gallon to the duty on spirits. These proposals were accepted by the House without serious resistance. Even Mr. Gladstone did not oppose them—and for the best of reasons. "The Budget of 1855"—he wrote in after years,—"was handed over by me to Sir George Lewis, and underwent in his hands little alteration unless such as, with the growing demands of the war, I should myself have had to make in it—*i.e.*, some not very considerable enlargement." One most valuable

reform, dating from this year, remains a permanent memorial of Lewis's far-seeing sagacity. By the Act passed on June 15, 1855, the special stamp imposed on newspapers, as such, was abolished, and the diffusion of knowledge thereby delivered from a tax.

When the Session of 1856 began, peace was practically, though not formally, secured; but a frightful debt remained to be wiped off. Lewis, in introducing his Budget, estimated the total cost of the war at seventy-seven millions. The Income Tax stood at one and fourpence in the pound, but Lewis dared not reduce it. He lowered the estimates for the Army and Navy by seventeen millions, but still he had a deficit of nearly seven millions; and this he met by borrowing, while the taxes remained as they were.

Here again Gladstone offered no very damaging criticism: the outbreak of his wrath was reserved for the following year.

Early in 1857 Lewis produced his third and last Budget. He reduced the Income Tax from one and fourpence to sevenpence, and lowered the duties on tea and sugar. The total reduction of taxation was twelve millions. On the storm of criticism which now burst over Lewis's devoted head, Mr. Herbert Paul writes as follows: "Mr. Gladstone assailed this Budget with unmerited acrimony, declaring on the flimsiest grounds that it unsettled the financial policy of fifteen years. Sir George Lewis was not a brilliant financier; but he was a perfectly sound one, and Mr. Gladstone's pretended demonstration that the surplus was fictitious, suffered itself from the fault which it imputed."

This is the moment to which Greville referred when he said that "Gladstone seemed bent on leading Sir George Lewis a weary life." Mr. Morley, as in duty bound,

puts a different complexion on the controversy. "On February 13, 1857, the Government presented their Budget. In introducing his plan, Lewis rashly quoted, and adopted as his own, the terrible heresy of Arthur Young, that to multiply the number of taxes is a step towards equality of burden, and that a good system of taxation is one that bears lightly on an infinite number of points. The reader will believe how speedily an impious opinion of this sort kindled volcanic flame in Gladstone's breast. He thought moreover that he espied in the Ministerial plan a prospective deficiency a year ahead. He told his friends that the shade of Peel would appear to him if he did not oppose such plans with his whole strength."

Certainly the shade of Peel had no such call to revisit the glimpses of the Parliamentary moon, for Gladstone, making common cause with the Tories and the Radicals, harried Lewis and his scheme with all the resources of dialectic, strategy, eloquence, and passion. But the vehemence was overdone. Even Gladstone's friends thought him too impassioned; Lewis, as usual, kept his head; there was a reaction in his favour, and his Budget passed successfully through the ordeal.

Early in 1858 Lord Palmerston's Government was beaten on a Bill to amend the Law of Conspiracy, and Lewis ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Perhaps in this place some words which Gladstone wrote in his diary for April 14, 1863, may be suitably inserted: "Heard the sad news of the death of Sir George Lewis. I am pained to think of my differences with him at one time on finance; however, he took benefit by them, rather than otherwise. A most able, most learned, most unselfish, and most genial man." That last epithet, *genial*, should not be overlooked, for it recognizes an aspect of Lewis's character which the world in general has ignored.

The Tory Government which was formed in February, 1858, was not long-lived. In the spring of 1859 a General Election took place, and, on the opening of the new Parliament, the Government was removed by a vote of censure. Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, and asked Lewis to resume his former place as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Lewis consented to do; but immediately afterwards it became known that, to everyone's intense surprise, Gladstone, who had vehemently denounced Palmerston, and had voted to keep the Tory Government in office, was now prepared to join Palmerston's Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lewis, with characteristic self-effacement, immediately surrendered the Exchequer to Gladstone; and became Home Secretary. The work of the office which he had thus unselfishly accepted was by no means congenial to his tastes, and it is on record that the painful duties connected with the prerogative of mercy in capital cases pressed on him with an almost insupportable weight.

But yet another change in his position was at hand. In July, 1861, the failing health of Sidney Herbert (Lord Herbert of Lea), who died immediately afterwards made a vacancy in the office of Secretary of State for War, and Palmerston pressed Lewis, "perhaps the most unwarlike man in the Government," to accept the vacant place. An amusing account of the transaction was given by the late Lord Granville in a letter to a friend.

"Palmerston is in a peck of troubles about his arrangements. The new War Minister must be in the Commons; Charles Wood refuses to give up India; G. Grey is forbidden by his doctor to take such a laborious post; G. Lewis does not much object, but his family and the public think he is a square man in a round hole for it. Palmerston argued the matter with Lady Theresa

Lewis. He said the business would be chiefly civil—
" (P.) : ' He will have to look after the accounts.'
" (Lady T. L.) : ' He never can make up his own.'
" (P.) : ' He will look after the commissariat.'
" (Lady T. L.) : ' He cannot order his own dinner.'
" (P.) : ' He will control the clothing department.'
" (Lady T. L.) : ' If my daughters did not give the orders to his tailor, he would be without a coat.' "

However, these manifold objections were overruled; and Lewis became Secretary of State for War.

He soon found, what he must have clearly foreseen, that to make due provision for the military needs of the country, while Gladstone held the national purse-strings, was a most formidable task. Sir Algernon West, who once was Gladstone's Private Secretary, says in his " Recollections " that Lewis was " always secretly, when not openly, opposed to him on matters of finance," and Gladstone noted in his diary the frequent struggles between himself and Lewis over the Army Estimates. In February, 1862, he thus describes his insistence on reduction. " It is rather amusing. I am driving the screw; Lewis yields point by point. I think in substance the question is ruled in my favour . . . . Lewis's last dying speech—' Well, we will see what can be done.' "

Having regard to the fact that Gladstone, nearly two years younger than Lewis, was now in the prime and perfection of his powers. and was incomparably the most conspicuous of all Palmerston's colleagues, it is curious to read that, in the judgment of the late Lord Selborne, Sir George Lewis, at this time, seemed likely to inherit the Liberal leadership after Palmerston's death. He lacked " pugnacity, and the gifts of a great orator," but he " could and would have led the combined centres " of the Conservative and Liberal Parties, or, in other words,

a combination of moderate Liberals and moderate Conservatives, such as had habitually kept Palmerston in power.

It seems unlikely that any such project as this ever crossed Lewis's calm and unambitious mind. Certainly, there is no trace of it in his correspondence; and if there were any of his friends who regarded it as a possibility, they were destined to be rudely disillusioned. When Parliament met for the Session of 1863, Lewis had only a few more weeks to live. He had never been robust, and even from a boy had been beset by tormenting headaches. In later years he had developed a chronic complaint which, though not in itself dangerous, was wearying. He had all his life worked even beyond the limits of his strength; had led a sedentary life; and had disregarded the common precautions of healthy living. All these causes had combined to lower his vitality; and it has been whispered that the sanitary defects of the Government Offices in Whitehall had sowed the seeds of fatal disease. On April 4, 1863, he left London to spend his Easter holidays at his beautiful home in Radnorshire. There he was attacked by severe and rapid illness, and on April 13 he died.

When Parliament reassembled after the Easter recess, the adjournment of the House of Commons was moved, as the traditional mark of respect for an eminent Member of the House unexpectedly removed. The words employed by Disraeli, then Leader of the Conservative Opposition, in supporting the motion for adjournment, deserve to be recalled.

"The Queen has lost one of the ablest of her servants, and this House has lost one of its members, who, I am sure, possessed the universal regard and respect of all who knew him. I do not know the man who combined in so

eminent a degree as Sir George Lewis, both from acquirement and from native power of thought, the faculty upon all public matters of arriving at a sound and thorough opinion. Although he was a man most remarkably free from prejudice and passion, that exemption from sentiments which are supposed in general to be necessary to the possession of active power had not that effect which it generally exercises; and he was a man who, in all the transactions of life, brought a great organizing faculty and a great power of sustained perseverance to the transaction of public affairs. I am sure that the rising statesmen of both sides may take him as an example that in many particulars may be remembered and followed with advantage; and I am quite sure that his name will never be mentioned in this House without feelings of deep respect and unfeigned regret for what may be deemed an untimely loss which I think the country could ill bear."

Three weeks later, Gladstone, speaking in Committee on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, referred to his departed friend and colleague as "one who so lately sat upon this bench, and whose loss we so deeply lament; one who, if any man, deserves the praise of *Rhipeus—justissimus unus Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus æqui,*" * and, after a visit to Lewis's widow, he wrote to a friend: "It was heartrending woe; such as makes one ashamed of having so little to offer."

On April 18 in the same year, Gladstone wrote his remarkable tribute to Lewis's memory:—

"Like several eminent public men of our time, he had many qualities for which the outer world did not

* "Gallant Coroebus falls; next Rhipeus—Tencria ne'er
"Looked on a purer soul, more just, more spotless and fair."
LORD BOWEN.

perhaps, though it may not have denied them, ever give him full positive credit. For example, his singular courtesy and careful attention to others in all transactions great and small; his thoroughly warm and most forthcoming and genial disposition; his almost unconsciousness of the vast stores of his mind, and of the great facility and marvellous precision with which he used them; and, if I may so say, the noble and antique simplicity of character which he united with such knowledge of men and of affairs."

This mention of a "warm, forthcoming, and genial disposition" deserves special notice on account of its remoteness from the view of Lewis's nature which has been generally entertained.

In an earlier part of this paper I indicated the vast range and variety of Lewis's intellectual interests, as illustrated by his essays in the "*Edinburgh Review*." But, besides those essays, twenty-one books and pamphlets stand to his credit in the Catalogue of the British Museum. Nearly all these works have long since passed into oblivion; their subjects were not such as to attract general attention, and Lewis's style had none of the charm which often makes even a dull subject acceptable. But two at least of Lewis's books deserve to be noticed in even the briefest account of his work, because one illustrates in a singular degree his intellectual courage, and the other reveals his convictions on the most important subject of human concern. Of his "Enquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History," Mr. Herbert Paul, perhaps the most competent critic of our time, writes as follows:—"In the opinion of this great scholar, all the greater because he was acquainted with practical business and public affairs, the lapse of a century obliterated the value even of traditional evidence, which

necessarily ranks below evidence at first hand. It is not only to the history of Rome that this sceptical theory applies, and the importance of the book was wider than its subject denoted. Theological controversy, however interesting it may be made by the power and resources of the disputants, seldom leads to any tangible result. But the historical method cannot be ignored. It removes landmarks and touches foundations. Sir George Lewis had one of those rare minds which pursue truth, and truth alone. For consequences he cared nothing at all. He was so far an iconoclast that he could not bear to see people accepting conclusions from false premises. He had an instinct to save them as if they were drowning, even though they did not in the least want to be saved. He brought everything to the test of reason, and it fretted him that a man like Niebuhr should claim an intuitive knowledge of the past. He took nothing for granted, and used to say that the question of Free Will would never be settled until it had been argued before three Judges sitting in banc. He embodied the spirit of revolt against tradition, stimulated as it was by the misplaced efforts of men who had 'a fumbling dread of the human reason.'"

Lewis's love of close and strict enquiry into historical fact, so well illustrated by Mr. Paul in the foregoing citation, lends a peculiar interest to his "Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion." Of this book, which was republished in 1875, Mr. Gladstone wrote that "it is, perhaps, the best monument of that learned, modest, most dispassionate, and most able man. The remarkable sobriety of the author, his abhorrence of paradox, his indifference to ornament, his rigidly conscientious handling, made it difficult for him to please the palate of the public, which even then required, as it now more exactingly requires, highly-seasoned food."

Sir George Lewis begins this essay by an enquiry into the etymology of the word "Authority," which he interprets in the broadest sense as signifying the widespread and immemorial tradition of the civilized world. He proceeds to show that "a large proportion of the general opinions of mankind are derived merely from authority," inasmuch as the majority of men have neither the opportunity nor the aptitude for enquiry at first hand into subjects of even the most practical concern. This being established, he maintains that "all nations have agreed in the substantial recognition of a divine power, superhuman and imperceptible by our senses;" and he goes on to affirm that the whole civilized world, which alone can exercise any just "authority" in matters of opinion, has agreed in the acceptance of Christianity. "Christendom," he says, "includes the entire civilized world; that is to say, all nations whose agreement on a matter of opinion has any real weight or authority." While thus affirming the general acceptance of Christianity as a reason why the individual should accept it, he repudiates the notion that the individual is bound to accept any special form or aspect of Christianity. "Inconsistent and opposite forms of Christianity continue to exist side by side;" and no one form can claim such a universal acceptance as alone constitutes "authority." But, having thus carefully limited the area in which authority has binding force, he concedes the position that any particular section or society of Christians—for example, the Church of England,—is "more competent, in a corporate capacity, to decide doubtful questions, than any of its individual members."

Such is the substance of Lewis's essay, and its special value consists in the fact that it gives his deliberate and reasoned adhesion to one at least of the principal

foundations on which the edifice of Christian faith and life is based.

It may very well be that this plain narration of Lewis's life and opinions has incidentally thrown sufficient light on his character, disposition, and personal traits. Still, before bringing this sketch to a close, I should like to add one or two descriptive touches borrowed from contemporary observers. "He was a stern, heavy-looking man, whom Charles Greville described as being cold-blooded as a fish, a prudent statesman of the old Whig school, but more interested in literature than in politics. He always said that there were more good places in the Civil Service than good men to fill them, and later in life I found it too true." According to the same witness, Lewis always declared that "every man was able adequately to perform the duties of an office which he was clever enough to get;" but a more amiable chronicler softens it down into saying that Lewis set an unduly high value on education, and thought that a well-educated man could do anything that the public service required. Another describes Lewis as having been, not only calm in all grave emergencies, but "singularly free from fuss" in the petty details of daily life. His diligence in work, from his boyhood to his death, was remarked by all; and one of his contemporaries notes particularly his power (which, by the way, he shared with Gladstone) of using up all the fragments and odds-and-ends of time, and pursuing his studies in the train, the steam-boat, or the doctor's waiting-room.

As to smaller details, he was extremely short-sighted, very shy, and wholly uninterested in the chit-chat and tittle-tattle of social life. His wife, on the other hand, was devoted to society, and dragged him to all the gayest parties in London. It was this uncongenial

experience which elicited from the patient husband the best-remembered and most frequently-quoted of all his utterances: "Life would be tolerable but for its amusements." On the lips of most men, such a saying would sound unreal, and even ridiculous; but it was essentially congruous with the character and career of Sir George Lewis. From first to last, he regarded this world as a workshop, and he plied the appointed task of life with an unhasting but unremitting diligence. "Genius will arise as Heaven ordains: patience and perseverance are the certain benefactors of Humanity."

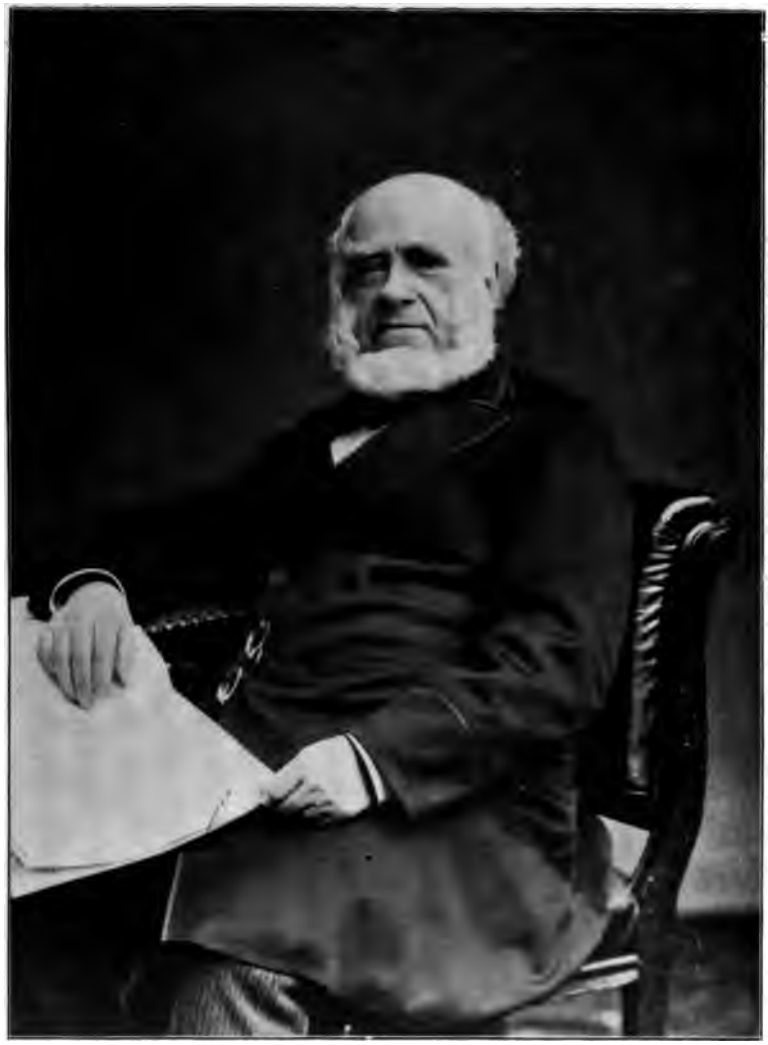


Photo. by] [*Elliot & Fry.*

HENRY RICHARD, M.P.

HENRY RICHARD, M.P.

Born April 3, 1812; *M.P. for Merthyr Tydvil*, 1868—1888; *Secretary of Peace Society*, 1848—1885; *Pastor of Marlborough Chapel*, 1835—1850; *married Augusta Matilda, third daughter of John Farley, of Kennington, December* 20, 1866; *died August* 21, 1888.

By the REV. J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

"Mr. Henry Richard, was the first real exponent in the House of Commons of the Puritan and Progressive life of Wales; he expounded the principles which Nonconformity has breathed into the life and heart of the Welsh people."

THOMAS E. ELLIS.

IT would be impossible in an article of this kind to enter fully into the career of Henry Richard. One can only attempt to touch upon the general record of his life and the public matters to which he mainly directed his energies. In every place and profession the elect spirits are few. Those who convince us by their conviction, who thrill us by their eloquence, and ennoble us by their ideals, are rare. Henry Richard, however, can claim a place among the few. A Welshman by birth, a Congregationalist by religious persuasion, a Liberal in politics, he was a man to whom all good people everywhere paid a tribute of honour and of love.

He impressed his generation as a man who knew in what he believed, and who knew how, even in the face of adverse social and political influences, to stand true to himself and his convictions. No unofficial Englishman was ever received with greater cordiality both at home and in the cities of Europe. It is not always safe to

judge a man's worth by the estimate of his contemporaries. Some pass through life under—and some over-estimated, both as regards their ability and character. There are decisive personalities who are regarded with conflicting views by their own age and time; they create either intense dislike or intense devotion on the part of those with whom they come in contact; it all depends upon the view-point. Then there are personalities who make a different impression upon the same people at different times: in certain moods they repel us, in other moods we regard them with love and veneration. But such personalities have a certain kind of fascination: they have depth and freshness, and are always interesting. Henry Richard was a man who had the genius to be generally loved. Rarely has a Welshman, or any public man of any nationality, received such a perfect consensus of admiration from his countrymen. He was born on April 3, 1812, at Tregaron, a small town in Cardiganshire. His father, the Rev. Ebenezer Richard, was a prominent minister with the Calvinistic Methodists. His grandfather and uncle were also ministers of the same connexion. Henry Richard was for a time at the Llangeitho Grammar School, and at the age of fifteen he was apprenticed for a term of three years to a Mr. Lewis, a draper at Carmarthen. During that time he was admitted to full communion with the Methodist Church at Water Street. At the age of eighteen he expressed a desire to dedicate his life to the Christian ministry, and he was admitted as a probationer to Highbury Congregational College, London, on September 6, 1830. On November 11, 1835, he was ordained pastor of the Marlborough Chapel in the Old Kent Road. The church was small and in a disorganised state; but under his energetic ministry it greatly increased in number and in usefulness.

But his interests were not bounded by the life of Marlborough Chapel. His field of action was the world. In 1843 the Rebecca Riots took place in Wales. At that time the turnpike gates were an oppressive burden to the tenant-farmers of Wales. Against this intolerable grievance the young farmers organised themselves and pulled down the obnoxious gates. The nature and extent of these proceedings were misrepresented in the English papers. Mr. Henry Richard took the matter up, and wrote to the public Press to show that there was no political significance attached to these riotous proceedings, but that they were the outcome of grievous hardships, and the Government Commissioners appointed to enquire into the matter supported his conclusions. It was part of his mission in life to defend the character and promote the interests of his countrymen. It was through his instrumentality, in conjunction with the Rev. John Blackburn, that a conference on education was called at Llandovery in 1844, which resulted in the institution of a Normal College for training teachers, first at Brecon, and then at Swansea. A Government Commision was appointed in 1847 to enquire into the educational condition of Wales; the report which they presented formed a terrible indictment of the morality and intelligence of the Welsh people. Mr. Richard subsequently delivered a lecture at the Crosby Hall which was a vindication of the Welsh people from the aspersions of the Education Commissioners. He showed both by the statistics and by the testimony of judges at assizes, that the Report of the Commissioners was entirely untrustworthy, for the reason that the views of the most eminent Nonconformist witnesses had been suppressed, and that the interrogations relating to chapels and Sunday Schools were so framed as to show unquestionable animus on the part of the Commissioners.

On May 22, 1848, Mr. Richard was appointed Secretary to the Peace Society. It was a time of great disquietude both in Europe and in America. War had just been proclaimed between Germany and Denmark and between Austria and Italy. A disastrous war was raging between Mexico and the United States; a desolating civil war was in progress between the Swiss Cantons, and in France there was a "Reign of Terror." At home the cry had been raised that England was in danger. It was a time of great anxiety and responsibility. There were obstacles in the way of the Peace Society. But Mr. Richard was a man of courage and wisdom. He, together with Mr. Elihu Burritt and Mr. Joseph Sturge, set to work to arrange a series of Peace Conferences, first in Brussels, then in Paris, Frankfort, London, Manchester, and Edinburgh. These conferences were attended by men speaking different languages, living under different forms of government, holding diverse political and religious opinions, but actuated by the one absorbing thought of peace. In the month of April, 1849, Mr. Richard and Mr. Elihu Burritt visited Paris to make arrangements for the Peace Congress which was to assemble in that city; they interviewed the most eminent leaders of political and religious thought, among them being M. Emile Girardin, the most powerful journalist in Paris; M. Bartiat, the distinguished writer on political economy; M. Coquerel, the eloquent Protestant orator; M. de Lamartine, once Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. de Tocqueville and M. Carnot. The Congress assembled on August 22, 1849, in the Salle St. Cecil, under the presidency of Victor Hugo. Cobden and many other men of eminence were present. Seven hundred delegates from England and America were assembled together, and the success of the congress was such as to pass all expectations. The resolutions adopted were the same

as those at Brussels. Nearly all the Paris newspapers referred in sympathetic terms tot he Congress, and regarded the peace manifestations as a good omen for the future. After his return from Paris, Mr. Richard was presented by his friends with a cheque for £1,000, and a very handsomely-bound Family Bible. In the spring of 1850 Mr. Richard decided to resign the pastorate of the Marlborough Chapel and to devote himself entirely to the interest of the Peace Society, and on June 19 there was a public meeting to bid him farewell, when he was presented with a purse of gold, and a copy of the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," in thirty volumes. Mr. Richard was asked to pay the church a visit on his return from his proposed visit to the Continent, and to give them an account of the progress of the cause he had so much at heart. It is impossible within the limits of this article to describe at any length the many visits which Mr. Richard and Mr. Burritt paid to the Continent to further the interest of the cause of international peace, but it may be said that mainly through his influence and that of Mr. Burritt, the Peace Society came to occupy a commanding position before the world. Moreover, the monthly organ of the society called "*The Herald of Peace*," under his editorship and management, entered upon a career of greater power and usefulness; but his connection with "*The Morning and Evening Star*," launched in the year 1855, was not so fortunate. This enterprise showed clearly that Mr. Richard was not qualified to prepare and manage a daily paper that had to appeal to the general public; he lacked versatility and grasp of details, and he was too disposed to give undue prominence to the question in which he was interested. But he had the satisfaction of witnessing the growth and development of a more pacific feeling both at home and

abroad, and especially between England and France, When the Peace Congress was held in Exeter Hall on July 22, 1851, Mr. Richard was greatly perplexed owing to the number of distinguished speakers from whom a selection had to be made. The chair was taken by Sir David Brewster, a philosopher and a foremost man of science. Upward of a thousand persons were present from every district of the United Kingdom, besides a considerable contingent of Frenchmen, Belgians, Germans, Italians, and Swedes. Both Bright and Cobden had expressed a wish that Henry Richard should have a seat in Parliament, the latter also suggesting that he should drop the title of Rev. Mr. Richard replied that the title was a matter of perfect indifference to him. In the autumn of 1853 Mr. Richard was invited to become Principal of Brecon College, but he concluded that he could best serve the cause of Christianity and his country by retaining the secretaryship of the Peace Society. The following year (1854,) Mr. Richard and his friends were greatly discouraged because Walpole, North, Pitt and Aberdeen, supported by the puplic Press, had forced the British nation into a war with Russia. Never was so great a sacrifice made for so worthless an object. The horrors of the war, and especially the winter's campaign in the Crimea, greatly disheartened the leaders of the peace movement. Bright, Cobden, and other statesmen, did their utmost to stem the war-tide ; but so intense was the political passion of the moment that even Prince Albert was actually hissed when he appeared out of doors on account of his attitude on the question, and Bright saw his effigy burnt at Manchester. The feeling against Russia was strong and general, partly because of the suppression of Hungarian independence, and partly owing to the supposed design of the Czar to establish himself at

Constantinople. It was generally felt that England had a greater interest in Turkey than any other power. However, with that remarkable persistence that always characterised Mr. Richard, when the war came to an end in 1856, he organised an influential deputation to wait upon Lord Palmerston to urge upon him the importance of proposing at the conference which was then sitting at Paris some system of international arbitration which would be accepted as the law of Europe. Lord Palmerston received the members of the deputation, but gave them no encouragement. Mr. Richard did not faint in the day of adversity. He induced both Mr. Sturge and Mr. Charles Findley, the member for Ashton, to go with him to Paris, to present a memorial to the several Powers through their plenipotentiaries, urging that the interest of nations should be brought within the cognisance of certain fixed rules of justice and right. That was in the month of March, 1856, but Mr. Richard and his friends left Paris with no more sanguine hopes than when they left Palmerston. It transpired, however, that Lord Clarendon, upon whom the deputation waited at Paris, had carried out the suggestion of the deputation, and had succeeded in getting the congress to pass a resolution expressing a *qualified* disapproval of a resort to war. It was only a resolution, it is true, and by no means binding; but both Gladstone and Lord Derby, in referring to the resolution, spoke of it as a distinct step forward in the interest of international peace and civilization.

In the year 1862 Mr. Richard was brought into closer touch with Wales, its people, and its wants. In company with Edward Miall and J. Carvell Williams, he attended a Nonconformist Conference which was held at Swansea on September 23 and 24, as a deputation from the Liberation Society. This was the first

organised attempt to secure for Wales a better and a larger representation in the Imperial Parliament. It was also the first distinct advance, on a national scale, in the direction of disestablishment. Mr. Richard expressed his belief that up to that time Wales had done nothing worthy of the number, influence, and generosity of the Dissenting communities in the movement for religious equality. He also complained that the Nonconformists did not share in the administration of the country in proportion to their number and the important place they held in the Liberal Party. He spoke with all the authority of a popular and responsible leader. At a meeting held in Aberaeron during the autumn of 1866, great dissatisfaction was expressed with Sir Thomas Lloyd, who then represented the county. Mr. Miall, in addressing the assembly, turned to Mr. Henry Richard and said: "Here is your man." But there were two Liberals already in the field, and the matter was not pressed. However, the creation of a new Parliamentary Borough, through the Reform Act of 1867, gave Merthyr Tydvil an additional member. Mr. Richard consented to stand, and was returned at the head of the poll at the General Election which took place in September, 1868. He retained the seat until his death—a period of twenty years. He made his maiden speech in the House of Commons on Monday, March 22, 1869, during the debate on the second reading of the Irish Church Bill. The return to Parliament of twenty-three adherents of the Liberal Party—including, for the first time, three Dissenters—greatly disturbed some of the extreme lay landlords, and about two hundred notices of ejectment were served upon those tenant-farmers who were known, or suspected, to have voted for the Liberal Members. On Tuesday, July 8,

1869, Mr. Richard brought the matter to the attention of Parliament, and moved a resolution declaring the action of those landlords to be unprecedented, unconstitutional, and an infringement of the rights conferred by Parliament on the people of the country. After the delivery of the speech, Mr. Miall, who sat by Mr. Richard, said that Wales at last had sent a member to Parliament fit in all respects to represent her. His motion was withdrawn at the solicitation of Mr. Bruce, then Home Secretary.

The Session of 1870 brought Mr. Richard again to the front. The Gladstone Ministry had decided to deal with the perplexed problem of national education. Mr. Richard, who took special interest in the question of education, said that Welsh intermediate education was of greater consequence to the Welsh people than Disestablishment. Mr. W. E. Forster introduced his Bill on February 17, which proved utterly unsatisfactory to the friends of religious equality. On June 17, Mr. Richard moved an amendment on the motion for going into committee on the Bill. He contended that the question was not whether the children should receive education, but how, and by whom. He characterised the Bill as an attempt to compel everybody to pay for the religious instruction of everybody else. He further declared it as his belief that there was no final solution except by secular education. His amendment was rejected. During the third reading of Mr. Forster's Bill in its amended form Mr. Richard entered his final protest, charging the Gladstone Ministry with using the votes of the Conservatives to frustrate the wishes and rights of their best friends. Mr. Richard warned Mr. Gladstone of the consequences, and his warning was prophetic. The overthrow of the Gladstone Ministry in the election of

1874 was mainly due to the indifference and antagonism of the Nonconformists who were dissatisfied with the treatment they had received, and especially with the 25th clause of the Bill, which allowed the rates to be expended upon denominational schools. Mr. Gladstone sought to cast the stigma for their defeat upon Mr. Forster, by stating that his responsibility was that of concurrence rather than of authorship.

On May 9, 1871, Mr. Miall introduced his first motion for the Disestablishment of the English Church. It was seconded by Mr. Richard. The burden of his speech was that a State Church system in Wales had failed in its professed mission of teaching the Welsh people. The motion was rejected by 374 to 89 votes. Mr. Gladstone spoke against the motion, and stated that it was at variance with the established convictions of the country.

In the month of January, 1872, a great public meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to deal with the education question from the Nonconformist point of view. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, not then a Member of Parliament, was among the speakers; so was the late Dr. Dale. Mr. Richard, who presided, commented upon the fact that he and those who acted with him had been told if they did not sacrifice their convictions to suit the convenience of party management and necessity, the result would be disastrous. But Mr. Richard was not a party man; officialism had no terrors for him; he had not gone to Parliament to do the bidding of Liberal Whips, but to satisfy his own conscience. His constituency at Merthyr Tydvil invariably supported him in his attitude of independence. Mr. Gladstone bowed to the storm, and appealed to the country in 1874; but so great was the reaction, that Mr. Disraeli and his party were returned by a

majority of fifty. Mr. Richard was returned for his old constituency at the head of the poll.

Some time before this great political change—July 9, 1873—Mr. Henry Richard proposed a resolution in the House of Commons in favour of a general and permanent system of arbitration. His speech lasted an hour and ten minutes. It was seconded by Mr. Mundella. Mr. Gladstone opposed it. He justified his opposition by stating that the adoption of Mr. Richard's motion would be detrimental to the cause which he had at heart. It was felt to be a peculiar attitude to take. Mr. Richard declined to withdraw his motion when Mr. Gladstone requested him to do so. Lord Enfield was put up by Mr. Gladstone to move the previous question, but it was defeated by a majority of ten, and ultimately Mr. Richard's motion was agreed to without a division. The carrying of the motion marked a great epoch in the cause of international peace. From Europe and America there came to Mr. Richard messages of congratulation. He was also the recipient of valuable addresses from numerous public bodies. It was felt that the first glad promise of a new and brighter future had dawned upon England and Europe. In the hearts of the friends of peace there had arisen a hope—long imprisoned and well nigh dead with weariness. Carried onward by an increasing enthusiasm, Mr. Richard decided upon a great Continental campaign. He opened it by taking part in the international conference held in Brussels in October, 1873, and which was attended by men of the highest standing in international law. From Brussels Mr. Richard proceeded into Holland, where he was most cordially received. From Holland he went to Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna; then to Rome, Venice, Florence and Milan. Men of high rank, eminent priests, editors, statesmen and philanthropists, expressed

their delight at the opportunity of making his acquaintance. The supreme purpose of his Continental tour was to stir the leading men of Europe into action, so that they might bring pressure upon their respective Governments to follow the lead given by the British Parliament. When he returned to England about Christmas of 1873 he found the prestige of the Gladstone Ministry practically gone; and, as I have already stated, Disraeli and his followers came into power after the General Election of 1874. Within a month of the delivery of the Queen's Speech, a "Public Worship Regulation Bill" was introduced in the House of Lords. Mr. Disraeli described it as a Bill to put down Ritualism. When it came down to the Commons, Mr. Henry Richard voiced the Nonconformist sentiment. He stated that the Government was on the wrong tack altogether by trying to regulate the affairs of a great spiritual body by the coarse machinery of the law. "There is only one way of escape," he exclaimed, "and it is Disestablishment." The Bill became law, though substantially it has been a dead letter, because the Episcopal Bench has ignored its provisions. This, and subsequent events in other Sessions, served to manifest the reactionary tendencies of Disraeli's Government in respect to ecclesiastical matters. This was a momentous period in British politics. Disraeli had cast the die in favour of a great Imperial policy, and Queen Victoria gave him every possible encouragement. As a mark of approbation, she created him Earl of Beaconsfield, and honoured him with a personal visit at Hughenden Manor. He decided upon coercing the independent Afghans with a view to secure a scientific frontier for India. He favoured a policy having for its object the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Then we had the Zulu War. These foreign questions kept the country in a state of perpetual excitement; trade and

industry were disturbed; the Cabinet was divided, and diplomacy seemed to be powerless. A great anti-Turkish Conference was held at St. James's Hall, the most powerful and representative demonstration of public opinion ever witnessed in England. Mr. Henry Richard was there, and, in a passionate address, he asked the assembly to declare that not one penny of British money, not one drop of British blood, should be expended in upholding the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. When Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury returned from the Congress at Berlin, over which Prince Bismarck presided, bringing with them, as they said, "Peace with honour," great was the relief felt in the country. But when Beaconsfield appealed to the country in 1880, fully confident of success, he found that the Liberals had been returned with a majority of 114. Mr. Henry Richard was again returned, and again kept himself well to the front by introducing a Cemeteries Bill, the main object of which was to get rid of the compulsory provision of two chapels, and the division into consecrated and unconsecrated ground. The Bill was talked out. He made other attempts in other Sessions, but with the same result.

In 1880 Earl Spencer, who was then President of the Council, invited Mr. Richard to become a member of the Departmental Commission, to inquire into the conditions of the intermediate and higher education of the Principality, including Monmouthshire. In January, 1883, he was present at a conference in the Town Hall, Chester, moving a resolution approving of a University College for North Wales, which was seconded by the Bishop of Bangor. At the annual meeting of the Peace Society held May 19, 1885, Mr. Richard resigned his office as secretary, owing to failing health and the increasing burden of Parliamentary

and public life, and Mr. Richard was presented at the London residence of Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., with a cheque of 4,000 guineas as a mark of appreciation for his eminent service. At the close of 1885, during the short Ministry of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Richard accepted an invitation to become a member of the Royal Commission to inquire into the state of education in England and Wales; and undoubtedly his influence helped to mould the final result; but it was evident to those who observed his increasing debility that he had practically run his race. On August 9, 1888, Mr. Richard and his wife left London to pay a visit to Mr. Richard Davies, of Treborth, Lord-Lieutenant of Anglesey, and formally member for that division in Parliament. About eleven o'clock on Monday evening, August 20, he was taken very ill, rapidly grew worse, and died just before midnight on Tuesday. The funeral took place in Abney Park Cemetery, London, on Friday, August 24, when, by his own request, he was laid in a grave near that of his old friend and pastor, Doctor Raleigh. The funeral was attended by a number of distinguished men from all parts of England and Wales, the address in Abney Chapel being delivered by Dr. Dale, who had for many years been closely associated with Mr. Richard in his great work and especially the Education Commission of 1886.

By his death Parliament lost one of its most distinguished members, and Wales the pioneer of Welsh Nationalism in the British Parliament, and International Peace its ablest and most conspicuous exponent. The question might be asked—What is the net result of the peace movement of which Mr. Richard was so distinguished an apostle? It cannot be denied that the peace movement has softened the bitterness of international relations, but it cannot be said that there has been

any decided or permanent progress in an international sense. The Hague Conference, heralded with such a flourish of trumpets, is a mere name; the man who gave it birth has since been engaged in a disastrous war with Japan, and England, in the meantime, has sacrificed thousands of lives and millions of money in South Africa. In the year immediately preceding the Hague Conference —1898—the total expenditure for the armies and navies of Europe was £251,000,000. But last year—1906—it amounted to more than £320,000,000, making an increase of £69,000,000 between the dates of the two Hague Conferences. This is for Europe, the United States and Japan; Turkey and Montenegro are not included in this estimate. The greatest peace-force in the world at this hour is King Edward VII. When there is no crisis of any magnitude to divide the nations, men say they love peace; but the moment there is a material conflict of interest, the pride of human nature comes to the front, and the passion of war manifests itself. In looking out upon the trend of things to-day, we find that the armaments of the great States are more burdensome than ever; they are daily producing horrible scientific instruments of destruction. Even America is hungering and thirsting for a position as a first-class naval power. Henry Richard's ideal, glorious and divine as it was, and is, does not hold the sway that it once did. The enthusiasm that ran so high during the memorable years of 1848 to 1851 has waned. He himself must have been conscious of this when he spoke at Darlington. He then said that his hope for an abatement of the war system lay rather in the permanent convictions of the people than in the policy of Cabinets or the discussions of Parliament.

More peace-sermons are preached to-day than ever, and

the forces of war are greater and more general than ever.

But it is a mistake to suppose that these gigantic armaments are the products of pure malevolence, or that they exist merely for the gratification of modern military strategists who gloat at the sight of human blood. Our Generals, as a class, are men of strong humanitarian instincts. There is in them, as the basis of all, a tenderness none the less genuine than their fearless devotion to duty. It ill becomes Socialists and Labour leaders, who have so frequently condoned intimidation, and even recommended a resort to force in their conflicts with Capital, to hurl their anathema on men who place their lives at the disposal of their country, as if they had no feeling for the living and no respect for the dead; or to pose as the sole champions of the world's peace. The genius for scientifically manipulating military forces, for combining, dividing, concentrating, launching new combinations, and in sudden emergencies to re-arrange and re-direct, is as much of a gift from heaven as the genius for organising bodies of working men into great federations for defensive and offensive purposes.

As to the question of "Peace *versus* War" the decision really rests with those personally-ruled countries like Russia and Germany. As to Germany's system of universal service, it was forced upon her by the successes of the French Army in those Napoleonic wars which filled every capital and province in Europe with dismay. One cannot but admire the rapid powers of intuition with which Germany grasped the intensities of that portentous period, and how the impetuous national spirit sprang phœnix-like into high patriotism in answer to the requirements placed upon it. To prevent the possibility of another Jena and another Austerlitz became the instant aspiration of every German heart. It is easy to

moralise on the evils of militarism, but nations owe a duty to themselves, a duty which it would be criminal to neglect. Moreover, the economic conflicts between great industrial countries are daily growing in intensity and magnitude. These conflicts have much to do with our army and navy estimates, and are entirely outside the will of sovereigns and statesmen.

Sir Edward Fry's proposal at the last Hague Conference means that our Naval Budgets are to be framed in consultation with foreign politicians, without the sanction of Parliament, or the consent of the British taxpayer. But each country has *always* known year by year what other countries propose to devote to the army and navy. So the idea is to make known "officially" what has, hitherto, been known "unofficially." But it has no bearing whatsoever upon the question of the limitations of armaments. What about the colossal standing armies of Europe? Sir Edward Fry's suggestion does not cover them, and yet they form the chief cause of expenditure and are the principal menace to the world's peace. The Hague Conference is a purely academic institution; not that we do not welcome these periodical idealistic longings and aspirations. Ideals form part and parcel of our mental life, but the programme of the Hague Conference has no correspondence with the reality of things. As the spasm came and passed away in the days of Henry Richard, so it will again. Belief in the possibility of limiting, by mutual agreement, the armaments of the world is not so general as it was in his time; the enthusiasm is not so intense as it was between 1848—1851, neither can it be said that there is the same intellectual and oratorical force at the back of the present movement. Then England was represented by Cobden and Bright, the "Castor and Pollux" in the

political firmament of that period—shining with equal lustre, though, perhaps, in different ways. But what an impetus for the peace movement of that period to have as its active champions the two greatest political characters the pure middle-class of England had ever produced. France came to the front in the person of Victor Hugo, a writer with a European name and fame, and a man entitled to rank among the foremost. With him was Emile Girardin, the most powerful journalist in modern times. Then Garibaldi spoke for Italy. But in vain do we look for such commanding personalities in the peace movement of to-day. There is not the same weight of public opinion behind it. The feeling is not so deep and not so universal. Sir Edward Fry's resolution is not stronger, either in its terms, or in its sentiment, than the resolution which Lord Clarendon passed at the Peace Congress in Paris in the year 1856 at the request of Henry Richard, neither is it more binding. Clarendon's resolution was spoken of throughout the world as an epoch-making resolution, but England and Europe went on building ships and organising armies as if nothing had happened.

It has been said that our hope lies in the political and religious education of the working classes; but to me the question of peace and war is a matter of instinct, not of education. The English working classes are not badly educated: they have a fair grasp of politics; they know how to manage their affairs and to protect their own interests. True, the burden of war falls upon them with the fewest compensations. But who were the first and foremost in support of the Boer War? The British working man. Who were the men that went out from America to fight the Spaniards? They came from the ranks of the American workers, and came voluntarily. It was

once boasted that America had solved the problem of the abolition of war, and had created a virtue beyond patriotism. There never was a graver mistake. America knows no virtue beyond patriotism. The love of country is the first and last lessons they inculcate in the school and on the hearth. The recent Spanish-American War proves that the war-passion is as strong in America as it was in the days of Lincoln, and that it is easy to fire that nation's heart when its dignity or interests are at stake. Yes, in America patriotism stands supreme, and it is a patriotism of a very exclusive kind—America first, and the whole world second. So in looking out upon the plains of Europe, we find that every nation is armed and is still arming. The enthusiasm for peace that delighted the hearts of Henry Richard and Elihu Burritt when they visited Berlin, Vienna, and Rome has faded into forgetfulness. Not a single war has been averted through it, not a single nation has been permanently affected by it. Nevertheless, it is an honour to have the privilege to include in this catalogue of names a man who, for a period of fifty years, consecrated his unique gifts to the cause of political freedom and international peace. There are many worthies of the Victorian Era who press in upon us for recognition. That productive era gave us poets who charmed us with the witchery of their song; it gave us thinkers who unlocked for us the mysteries of life, and who enlightened us with new thoughts in the realm of religion and physical science; it gave us warriors, men of great intellect and enormous resolution, swift as eagles and fearless as lions, the very embodiment of high valour. This same era gave us Henry Richard.

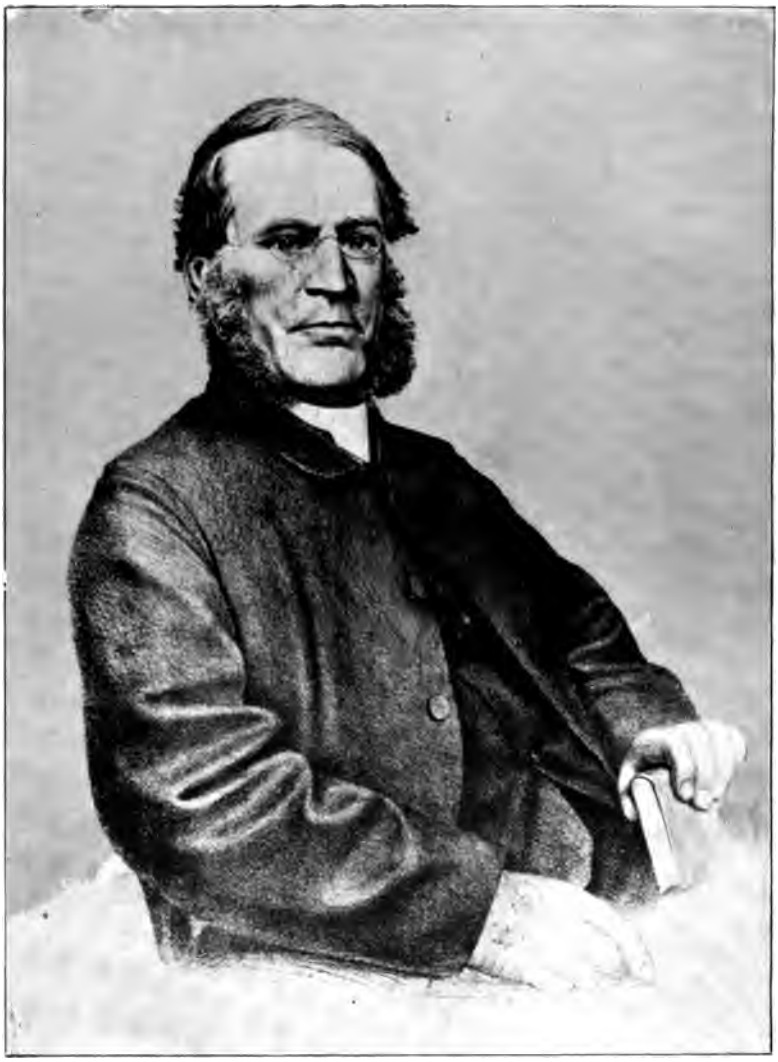
He did not ride to his high place through a reign of blood and mist of tears, but he did something for the imagination of England and of Europe. He was not

the first nor the only pioneer, but he was the foremost of that noble band. He brought hope into the hearts of those who had grown weary at the sight and the thought of the rivers of blood shed on the soil of Europe. The relief, if it was temporary, must have been great, for great had been the tension. In the estimation of the cynics, the enthusiasm created was a splendid theatrical exhibition. No one knew better than Henry Richard himself how deeply the military system had struck its roots into the social and moral life in Europe; but there are some enterprises in which it is more glorious to fail than it would be in others to conquer. Mr. Gladstone had told him across the table in the House of Commons that public opinion was not yet ripe for such a method of settling questions in which the honour and prestige of nations were at stake. It was to meet this difficulty that he travelled on the Continent to interview eminent jurists, statesmen, and leaders of thought; and he did it thoroughly and well. He communicated his impulse to all within his reach, for he was entirely penetrated with the moral worth and far-reaching importance of his mission. Men had confidence in his disinterestedness and in his statesman-like sagacity. When he took measure of the movements of his day, whether at home or abroad, his touch was sure, and his discernment wise. He was clear-headed; he was eloquent, and had a great passionate heart, and was altogether a man of high moral elevation. To his ideal, his country, and his people he was ever true. His motto, as he said at Merthyr in 1881, was this:—"I have decided to mind three things—not to forget the language of my country, not to ignore the people and cause of my country, and to neglect no opportunity of defending the character and promoting the interests of my country."

JOHN GRIFFITHS (Y Gohebydd).

JOHN GRIFFITHS (Y GOHEBYDD).

BORN at Abermaw on December 16, 1851; he left Wales when young, and finally settled in London. His first literary effort was in connection with "*Y Cronicl*," a Welsh periodical of considerable power, and with a wide circulation, edited and published by the Rev. John Roberts ("J.R."). Dr. William Rees (Hiraethog), brought Mr. Griffiths to the notice of the late Mr. Thomas Gee, of Denbigh, editor and publisher of "*Baner ac Amserau Cymru*." Mr. Gee engaged him to write weekly articles for the "*Baner*," and for a period of twenty years he acted in the capacity of a London correspondent. He did much by his articles to enlighten the Welsh people regarding matters of national importance, and especially the House of Commons—its constitution, its proceedings, and the doings of its most distinguished members. Mr. Griffiths travelled extensively on the Continent and in the United States. While in America he came in contact with Dr. Joseph Parry, who was then a young man engaged in some iron works in the State of Pennsylvania. He was instrumental, during his visit, in creating public interest on behalf of Dr. Parry, and a fund of £1,000 was raised to enable him to come to England for a course of study at the Royal Academy of Music. Mr. Griffiths did great service through his articles to the "*Baner*," and in other ways, to the Liberal Party during the Election of 1868. He organised an association for assisting those tenants who were ejected after the election.. He took considerable interest in the cause of elementary and higher education, and was a staunch supporter of Aberystwyth College. He died December 12, 1877.



REV. JOHN PHILLIPS (Bangor).

THE REV. JOHN PHILLIPS, BANGOR.

Born 1810. *Died* 1867. *Minister. Educationist.*

By the REV. DANIEL ROWLANDS, M.A., *Bangor.*

LIKE many of our greatest benefactors, Phillips was of humble origin. He was born in 1810, at Pontrhydfendigaid, Cardiganshire. His parents were David and Mary Phillips, of Tymawr, in that parish. His mother was a good woman, and a member with the Calvinistic Methodists, and his grandmother, Jane Jones, seems to have been remarkable for her piety, her intelligence, and her strength of character.

His educational advantages in his early days, outside the Sunday School and his invaluable home training, were meagre. He was for a little while in school with a man named Jobson, in Esgairmwyn, who seems to have dealt somewhat severely with his sprightliness, but commended him for his devotedness and perseverance. In 1825, when he was fifteen, there was a remarkable religious revival in the neighbourhood, and he, with many other young people, was deeply impressed. For a short while he attended the famous school of Ystradmeurig. In 1829, he went to a school kept then at Llangeitho, by Mr. Lewis Edwards, who afterwards became so well known and so highly honoured as the Rev. Lewis Edwards, M.A., D.D., Bala, and a warm and life-long friendship was formed between them. Dr. Edwards says in a letter he wrote after the death of his friend, which appeared in the "*Drysorfa*" for December, 1867, that he soon understood after he had come to him that he had set his heart on preaching.

He was induced in 1832 to take a tour to preach in

North Wales. "It is probable that there was never a preacher that drew more attention, and created more excitement than Mr. Phillips did in that tour." He preached in the summer of 1832, in Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire, and marvellous were the effects that followed. His preaching at the monthly meeting of Carneddi, Bethesda, in the same service as John Elias, was very wonderful. The crowd was so great that they had to preach in the chapel window. Phillips's text was, "For the great day of His wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" Many thought that it was well that it was Elias that had to follow him.

But tempted as he was by his wonderful popularity, he felt the want of further educational advantages to qualify him for higher service. Soon he and Mr. Lewis Edwards resolved to go together to study in the University of Edinburgh.

After returning from Edinburgh in May, 1835, Mr. Phillips went to Holywell, having accepted a call from the Calvinistic Methodist Church in that town to become its pastor. That was about the first formal appointment of the kind that occurred among the Calvinistic Methodists, though the number of ministers in pastoral connection with churches now amounts to some seven hundred and fifty His success at Holywell was in every respect very great.

After remaining in Holywell for seven years he married a lady in Anglesey, and removed there, that he might devote himself more generally to the great work. And, as it might naturally be expected, his service in that manner also everywhere proved of great and lasting value.

But a new field was opening before him, and calls for his services, in addition to what he was doing as a minister

of the Gospel, were about to be made in another and very important sphere.

The Sunday Schools, by the invaluable labours of the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, and his fellow-workers, had been established for many years; and by the earnest efforts made in connection with them throughout the country, as well as by all the other means of grace the people of Wales enjoyed, they and their children were very generally taught to read the Bible, to become well acquainted with its contents, and to have a wonderfully clear conception of its great truths. Their life also, under such a high spiritual training, was much improved. But they were very deficient in what is considered ordinary education. They did not know the English language, and that frequently caused them inconvenience and loss; besides that it deprived them of so much valuable help in the acquisition of knowledge; and in like manner writing, arithmetic, etc., were altogether without their reach. How could these great wants, which were becoming more and more acutely felt, be made up?

Joseph Lancaster, the good Quaker, in the beginning of the last century, was deeply affected at the dense ignorance, corruption and misery in which the children of the poor in their thousands and thousands throughout the country were left to grow up, and he made strenuous efforts to get them together and teach them better things. In particular he set his heart upon teaching them to read the Bible. King George III. heard of his efforts, and he was called to appear before him to give an account of what he was doing. The King was so pleased with what he heard, and especially of his efforts to teach the children to read the Book of God, that for himself, the Queen and his daughters, he promised generous

help in the way of annual subscriptions to carry on the work, and uttered unto him the most memorable words that ever came from his lips: "My desire is that every child in my kingdom should be taught to read the Bible." By 1808 those efforts of Lancaster became so well supported that "The British and Foreign School Society for the Teaching of the Children of the Poorer Classes, and especially with a view of giving the whole Population of England Scriptural Education" was formed. Dr. Bell, who came to such prominence afterwards in connection with the National School Society, despised the notion of teaching the children of the poor to write and count, and regarded the attempt to give them a little general knowledge as "Utopian." And such was the idea of the clergy generally. In 1806, Archdeacon Denbury, in a charge to his clergy, said, "that Lancaster could not be compared except to Julian the Apostate," that "his scheme was nothing but wild, unreasonable and anti-Christian," and, "that it was not fit to answer any purpose but to make the great body of the people one mass of Deism." Earl Russell, a good Churchman, writing in 1872, said: "The clergy of those days, even the liberal clergy, were generally opposed to the education of the poor; but seeing that education was going on, they agreed to set up a society to establish and support schools." And with regard to the great aim of the British and Foreign School Society, he wrote: "One would have thought that such a simple and good object as to teach the people to read and understand the Bible, if it should not have a warm support, would not meet with any opposition. But party spirit was excited in the Church, and the clergy thought that it was unnecessary, if not dangerous, to teach the poor to read." Dr. Bell added: "We can see that thousands are taken

out of the Church by the great attention paid to education outside the Church. The tide is going in one direction, and unless it is soon checked, it may arise faster and faster." The poor children that were so kindly cared for, however, were *not* in the Church at all, but were outcasts; and had the Church been wise enough to co-operate with the noble efforts that were then made, the gain, even to herself, would have been very much greater than she could possibly have attained in any other way. But three years after the formation of the British and Foreign School Society, in 1811, the "National School Society to Educate the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England" was established. And as such a service was to be rendered to the Church, which was deemed to be in such "danger," many wealthy Churchmen subscribed liberally towards the objects of the Society that was to do such a "national" work, and Church Schools were established all over the kingdom. But at once it became apparent that the object in view was to make Churchmen of them all. Even such a man as Bishop Thirlwall, finding that it was hopeless to have the adult population of Wales back to the Church, held, in a charge to his clergy, a sanguine hope, by having the children to the schools and taught the catechism and compelled to attend the church on Sundays, to have the people of Wales in the next generation to be good Churchmen. And Dean Cotton, of Bangor, in his "Remarks on the state of the Church Schools," wrote: "*The main object of Church Schools*"—the italics are his—"is to ground the children well in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and to imbue them with Church principles." But instead of making Churchmen of them, it rooted them more and more in their Nonconformity. Indeed very many children, on account of such difficulties laid in

their way, did not attend those schools at all. It therefore became a serious difficulty how a people that were so eagerly desirous of a little education for their dear ones could obtain it.

In the month of October, 1843, Sir Hugh Owen appeared before the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, stating the case of Wales, and appealing unto them to appoint an agent for North Wales and another for South Wales, to visit localities wishing to have British Schools, and help them to carry on the work. That good society was, of course, only too glad to comply with his request. In South Wales, however, a difficulty arose, as the feeling prevailed that the provision of education, like the maintenance of religion, should depend upon the voluntary principle, and not on State aid. That retarded for ten years the vigorous prosecution of the work there; but in North Wales the work was commenced at once, and nobly it was carried on.

Sir Hugh Owen showed his great wisdom in fixing upon the Rev. John Phillips, and his good fortune in securing his appointment as an agent for such a purpose, the fittest man for a work of the kind that could possibly be thought of. The people everywhere crowded to hear him, moved by the fascination of his personality and eloquence, in addition to the deep interest they felt in the work for which he was labouring. He got them to form committees and to prepare for work, and succeeded in many places to get them to contribute "to their power," if not even "beyond their power," in order to have British Schools established in their neighbourhoods.

Sir Hugh Owen, in a letter he sent on March 17, 1845, to the various magazines of Wales, thus wrote of his labours during the first year of his appointment: "Within the year Mr. Phillips has held about one hundred

and fifty public meetings on the subject, and in his own attractive way has brought the value of education, the necessity for establishing day schools, and the superiority of British Schools, together with the method of obtaining and supporting them, before sixty thousand of our fellow-countrymen. He has also formed eighty committees in as many localities, with a view to the eventual establishment of schools there. Of these localities twelve have already established schools, in which some one thousand five hundred children receive instruction. Twenty-four of them have sent their petitions to Government for grants in aid of their buildings, and grants they will undoubtedly get to the extent of at least four thousand pounds between them; and several are busy with the work of school erection."

But before long a serious difficulty arose. For some years, from 1844 to 1858, young men from Wales went to the Training College of the British and Foreign School Society at Borough Road, to be educated and trained as teachers. But as British Schools were multiplying throughout the country, it became clear that an effort must be made to prepare teachers for them in Wales. In the face of all that, Mr. Forster and Sir Hugh Owen, both members of the committee of the British and Foreign School Society, attended a Conference on Education held in Bangor, April, 1856, to propose the establishment of a Training College for North Wales. The proposal was very kindly received and, on the motion of the Rev. Henry Rees, seconded by Mr. Griffith Jones, of Bangor, it was unanimously resolved, "That this meeting is of opinion, in order to secure the necessary supply of teachers for the British Schools of North Wales, that there is need of a Training College to educate and train teachers; and that an institution of that nature be established

forthwith in some place in North Wales that will be judged to be most convenient, and that a committee be formed in order to attain the object in view."

In July of the same year, 1856, a meeting was called in Rhyl to make the necessary arrangements to attain that object. It was decided in that meeting that the College should be in Bangor, and a committee was formed to make the necessary preparation. Sums of money were also promised, and among them £1,000 by the late Mr. Robert Davies, Bodlondeb.

A site was secured and plans made, the carrying out of which involved an expenditure of over £13,500. The getting together of that enormous sum, in those days in particular, appeared to be a hopeless achievement. But Mr. Phillips faced it, and the efforts he made were the astonishment of all. The committee, referring to this matter in their report, presented at a public meeting held after the completion of the College, July, 1863, stated:

"The building that is now completed reflects much honour upon its architect and builder; while it is also a monument to the liberality of the people, most of them the 'common people' of Wales, as well as to the untiring labour and enthusiastic zeal of the Rev. John Phillips, who was the means of drawing out that liberality. Your committee feel that the service of Mr. Phillips deserves more than the hasty reference that is made to it here. The labour and anxiety connected with the raising of the sum required to meet the monthly payments due to the builder rested almost entirely upon him. To enable him to do that, he had to travel the counties of South and North Wales, and some of them many times over, and endure all the weariness and inconveniences connected with such a work,—not the least of which was the apathy

and lukewarmness shown by some persons here and there over the country who, as they were possessed of means and influence, he had hoped would have given a worthy example of liberality to others. The full and complete success which crowned the efforts of Mr. Phillips bears testimony to his power and personal influence, to the extraordinary gift he showed in moving his hearers, his matchless skill, and his complete devotion to the work he had undertaken to accomplish."

The effort, throughout, was represented as being carried on strictly undenominational lines, and the Normal College, from the beginning, like the colleges and the schools of the British and Foreign School Society, has been conducted, and for all Wales as a strictly unsectarian institution. And although those that did most towards its erection did not receive or even expect any sectarian advantage from it, nor were those that did least deprived of their full share of its benefits, yet, as a matter of history, it is not perhaps without interest to see how the contribution for this good object came in. A careful countryman, for some years deceased, putting together the various sums as given in the report above referred to as donations from individuals and congregations towards the erection of the Normal College, found that they stood as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
From Calvinistic Methodists.....	10,786	6	3
From members of the Church of England.....	612	5	0
From Congregationalists.....	89	4	9½
From Baptists.....	30	16	8
From Wesleyans	2	1	0
Government Grant	2,000	0	0
Total	£13,520	13	8½

From 1858 to 1862, and mainly under the skilful care of Mr. John Price,—who is now also called to his rest,—one hundred and three young men had been prepared to take charge of schools in Wales. That was done, first, in a schoolroom belonging to the Calvinistic Methodist Chapel, Twrgwyn, in Upper Bangor; and then in two dwelling houses; but in 1863 the Normal College was formally opened, and the Rev. John Phillips appointed its Principal, and Mr. Price, Vice-Principal. The accommodation was then for forty-one students. After passing the Act of 1870, which was most warmly welcomed in Wales, there was a great increase in the demand for teachers, and the dormitories were re-arranged so as to raise the accommodation from forty-one to sixty; afterwards the Principal's house had to be added to the College, and room made for seventy students; and the good work is still progressing at such a rate that the increase in the demand for teachers and in the number of applicants for admission to the College call for a still further extension of accommodation.

PRINCIPAL VIRIAMU JONES, F.R.S.

JOHN VIRIAMU JONES, M.A. (OXON.). B.Sc. (LOND.) F.R.S.

Fellow of University College, London; Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; born January 2, 1856; educated at Reading, University College School and University College, London; and Balliol College, Oxford. Principal of Firth College, Sheffield, 1881—1883; Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, 1883—1901; First Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, 1895; Vice-President of the Welsh Central Board. Died June 2, 1901.

By the REV. D. TYSSIL EVANS, M.A., B.Sc.,

Lecturer in Semitic Languages at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

JOHN VIRIAMU JONES was born at Pentrepoeth, near Swansea, on January 2, 1856. He was the second son of the Rev. Thomas Jones, "The Poet Preacher." By birth and training the subject of our sketch was marked out for a great career. A talented brother, Irvonwy, died young; two of his brothers, Sir David Brynmor Jones, K.C., M.P., and Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., survive him, and continue to represent the ability and enthusiasm of the family.

The name John Jones bears witness to his Welsh origin, Viriamu attests the wide religious sympathies of his father. He held in great admiration the martyr missionary, John Williams of Erromanga, and by his popular lecture on him helped to make that name a household word in the Principality. The South Sea Islanders could

not pronounce "Williams:" the nearest approach they could make to it was "Viriamu," and this Polynesian equivalent of Williams was inserted by the father between the familiar John and Jones, probably in the hope that its bearer would become a great preacher or a renowned missionary. That was not the plan of Providence, but in another sphere he worthily fulfilled the expectations raised by his parentage and unusual name.

His early training at Mr. William Watson's preparatory school in Reading extended over the years 1865—1867. He was a pupil of the University College School, London, from 1867—1872. He also spent a short time at the Normal College, Swansea, under the headmaster, Mr. William Williams, successor to the celebrated Welsh teacher, Dr. Evan Davies. In 1872 he matriculated in the University of London, at the age of sixteen, and took the first place in the honours division. His college career after this was marked by a long series of brilliant successes. In 1873, at the University College, London, he won the medal in chemistry and zoology, and the second prize in physics, together with the Andrews prize, as the most distinguished student of the first year. The same year he took first class honours in chemistry at the first B.Sc. examination of the London University. The following year he again won at his College the Andrews prize as the best student of his year, and took first prizes in applied mathematics, physics, geology, mineralogy and philosophy. In 1875, at the final B.Sc. examination of the University of London, he took the first place in honours in geology, thus winning a university scholarship, and was also awarded first class honours in logic and moral philosoply. In 1879 he was elected a Fellow of the University College, London.

Happily he was not satisfied with the honours which

he had gained in London, and a way was opened for him to Balliol College, Oxford, by the winning of the Brackenbury Scholarship in natural science. His achievements in Oxford were no less remarkable than those in London. He took first class honours in mathematical moderations in 1877, and first class in the Final School of Mathematics in 1879, and a First Class in the Final School of Natural Science in 1880. At the close of his college career he was appointed demonstrator in physics at the Clarendon Laboratory, Oxford, under Professor Clifton, and remained there until June, 1881.

At Oxford he had not only made rapid progress in his scientific studies and won high university honours, but what was of greater importance, he had been brought into personal touch with distinguished men. Among the inspiring teachers then at Oxford were Henry Smith Nettleship and J. H. Green, and he came under the spell of their influence. Benjamin Jowett had recently become Master of Balliol. He also made a deep impression on the young Welsh student and did much to shape his destiny. Among his fellow-students were Toynbee, brimming over with ideas on social regeneration; Alfred Milner and H. H. Asquith, men who have since reached high positions in the political world. The atmosphere which he breathed was bracing and inspiring, and his nature was very susceptible to all noble thoughts and purposes. Some men lose their human sympathies through excessive devotion to severe studies; Viriamu never did this. Amid all his efforts to acquire knowledge, he always kept in touch with mankind. This was one of the secrets of the services which he rendered, and of the fame which he won. Doubtless he might have been very successful as a scientific teacher and investigator, but the trend of events, and his own sympathies drew him

towards administrative work; his remarkable achievements in this sphere clearly show that he was wisely directed in the choice of his career.

At the time, the movement in favour of provincial colleges was attracting general attention. Among others, J. H. Green and Benjamin Jowett took deep interest in it, and did much to further its progress. Their young pupil had evidently caught their enthusiasm, and when Firth College, Sheffield, advertised for a Principal in 1881, he applied for the place and, through the influence of his teachers at Oxford, he was unanimously elected to that important position at the early age of twenty-five. Doubts were naturally expressed about the wisdom of selecting a young Welshman, comparatively unknown, to be the head of such an institution, but he soon justified the choice. He proved himself a powerful teacher, and at once manifested rare administrative skill and organising power. In a couple of years the students were more than doubled, and the prospects at Firth College were radiant with hope. But that was not to be the scenes of his great triumphs. He was a Welshman at heart, and he heard a voice calling him back to his native hills.

Higher education in the Principality was entering upon a new era. After a long period of sowing, often with tears, there appeared a sure and certain promise of a rich and glorious harvest. The University College of Wales at Aberystwyth had done valuable pioneering work. Under its first Principal, the Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards, M.A., it had endeared itself to the heart of the nation. The struggles and vicissitudes of its early history and its triumph over all difficulties through the staunch loyalty of enthusiastic educationists like Mr. Hugh Owen and Dr. Thomas Nicholas, supported by generous Nationalists in England as well as in the Principality, and

by the masses of the people through their small contributions, touched the sympathy, not only of Welshmen but also of many Englishmen, and particularly of the Right Hon. W. Ewart Gladstone. When he returned to power in 1880, a Departmental Committee of Inquiry into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales was appointed, with Lord Aberdare as chairman. As a result of the report of this Committee, the University College at Aberystwyth received an annual grant of £4,000 from the Government; another University College was established at Cardiff for South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1883, receiving an annual grant of £4,000, and this was followed in 1884 by a similar College for North Wales at Bangor. The educational conditions were completely changed and higher education in the Principality was placed on a more permanent and satisfactory basis. The patriots who had laboured so strenuously through years of anxiety and disappointment could hardly realise what had taken place. They could truly say, "We were like unto them that dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter and our tongue with singing." The new men who came upon the scene were called to do work under more favourable conditions, yet they could not forget the self-sacrificing toilers who had gone before them. Others had laboured, and they had entered into their reward, and it behoved them to develop worthily the sacred heritage that had been entrusted to their care. This was the "psychological moment" when Viriamu Jones took his place among Welsh educationists. He had a unique opportunity; and he used it nobly.

June 18, 1883, was a red letter day in the history of Cardiff and the Principality. The Council of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire met at the Town Hall, Cardiff, under the presidency

of Lord Aberdare, to select a Principal, professors and lecturers. For the principalship there were thirty applicants, many of them men of high attainments. After hours of careful interviewing and anxious consideration, Principal J. Viriamu Jones, of Firth College, Sheffield, was unanimously elected to be the principal of the new college. At the age of twenty-seven he had found his true sphere. In it he did his great life's work, and thereby graved his name indelibly on the roll of educational leaders in the Principality.

The Welsh are great believers in heredity, and there can be no doubt that the young Principal of the South Wales College owed his election in no small degree to his father's fame. Dean Vaughan fitly refers to this in his reference to him at the opening of the college in October, 1883. He spoke of him " as a young Welshman who has taken up the mantle of his father, a man who has given up a work in which he was eminently successful, and a college he had more than doubled in the two years of his youthful presidency, that he might serve the country of his birth, that he might give himself to the work which he saw to be the work of the future in his great Principality."

The Principal began his work under the sense of deep responsibility. At the luncheon on October 24, he said: " I left Sheffield through no discontent with my position in that town, but because I thought this was the dawning of a remarkable era in the educational and intellectual history of Wales, and that no nobler task could fall to the lot of any Welshman to-day than that of instituting this college wisely and of attempting to guide it aright in its infancy, so that it may become a great and lasting benefit to the Welsh people." Referring to the ideals of the great Puritan, John Milton, he said that he looked forward to the time " when the youth of Wales, inflamed with love

of learning and stirred up with high hopes, would become men brave and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous through all ages."

The college started with a staff of seven professors and three lecturers in addition to the Principal. The departments at the opening were physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, philosophy, Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Welsh and music. This did not fully realise the objects of the college as defined in its charter —" First, to promote such instruction as may qualify students to graduate in art, science, law, or medicine at the University of Wales or elsewhere ; secondly, to give such technical instruction as may be of immediate service in professional and commercial life ; and thereby to promote higher education generally ; " but a start had been made ; subsequent years would bring the college nearer to the ideal.

For a few years progress was slow. The Principal found, as other men have done, that it is not easy to reduce ideals into practice. The initial difficulties were many ; the greatest was lack of funds. The amount of money collected and promised by the opening day was £36,000, and £10,000 out of this was for a building site, so that the college had a capital of only £26,000. This was totally inadequate for the equipment of the various departments, and for the maintenance of the different branches of work. An attempt to overcome the difficulty was made by an appeal for subscriptions, but when the first enthusiasm had cooled, the response was very disappointing ; the wealthy men of Wales did not rise to the occasion, and the hard work of the college was sorely crippled, and the buildings were inadequate and unsuitable. The old infirmary had to be transformed into a University College, and around

it temporary structures, popularly caricatured as the "wooden shanties," had to be erected. The number of students was not so discouraging as their quality. The college had 151 students during the first session, but many of these had only one or two courses; and a considerable proportion, owing to inadequate preliminary training, had to take very elementary subjects. The intermediate schools of Wales had not then come into existence, and the college had for a period to do the work of secondary schools. Even in the higher subjects the college was under a great disadvantage. The teachers could not freely shape their own courses, but had to adapt their instruction to the regulations of the University of London, over which they had no control whatever. This lack of freedom was keenly felt, and made the college at Cardiff, as well as the other Welsh colleges, long for the time when Wales should have a university of its own. But notwithstanding all obstacles, the college made substantial progress, and the Principal was surely feeling his way towards greater things.

The first important advance was the establishment of a department of engineering in 1889. The Drapers' Company of London made a donation of £1,000 towards its equipment, and promised an annual contribution of £300 towards its maintenance. The generosity of the London Company gave a stimulus to local efforts, and the School of Engineering was able to begin its work in 1890. Very soon departments in mining and geology were established, and the college began to adapt itself to the special needs of the district by giving instruction suitable to the great industries which cluster around it. But the advance of the college in applied science and technology was seriously hampered by inadequate funds. In the absence of generous

subscriptions, the Principal turned his attention to the County Councils of Cardiff, Glamorgan and Monmouth. In taking this step he exhibited his usual shrewdness and foresight, and anticipated the great part to be taken by County Councils in the sphere of education. Through his instrumentality, the college entered into an arrangement with the County Councils in reference to technical instruction. They agreed to contribute £2,200 annually towards the college (Glamorgan, £1,000; Cardiff, £600; Monmouth, £600). In return, the Councils had the right to nominate fifty-five students for free studentships at the college. The Councils also attached maintenance scholarships to these free studentships. The college entered also into an arrangement with the Borough of Cardiff for carrying on the technical education of the borough. These agreements proved to be of mutual advantage; they brought pecuniary aid to the college at a time of need, and further increased the number of the students. On the other hand, they enabled the populous districts around to realise that the college was their servant and helper, and led them to take deeper interest in the great institution which had been established for their benefit.

In 1890, another forward step was taken—a department for the training of elementary teachers was instituted. It began with thirty-one students, but the number has steadily increased, and now the elementary teachers form a large and important body of students. At first it was feared that the introduction of this class of students would tend to lower the standard of the college, but the result has rather been the raising of the standard of attainment among the elementary teachers. This new departure involved the addition of several members to the staff, and made still greater demands on the

existing professors and lecturers. Facilities were also provided for the training of the secondary schools.

In the same year the departments of cookery and domestic arts were opened, which have turned out a large number of teachers in these useful subjects, and helped to equip others for the efficient discharge of the duties of the home.

Evening lectures and University Extension lectures were established in connection with the college in order to bring as much as possible university education to the door of the masses. For a long time, the Principal and Council had been contemplating the opening of a Medical School, but the usual want of means frustrated their plans. However, in October, 1893, the school was started, and, after a few months, the buildings adapted for it at a cost of over £6,000 were opened by Sir Richard Quain. The initiation of the Medical School meant a further increase of the staff by professors and lecturers in anatomy, physiology and Materia Medica, and imposed additional work on existing science departments by the special requirements of medical students. The school thus added to the financial burdens of the college, and heavily taxed its resources—and not a few thought it would have been better to wait for some years before starting it—especially as it was clear that for a time it could not provide for the whole of a medical student's career and there was no immediate prospect of the establishment of a medical degree in connection with the University of Wales. It must be admitted that there was a certain amount of justification for such criticism, but the Principal held that, as far as possible, provision should be made in Wales for all the needs of Welsh students, and maintained that a degree-granting medical school for the Principality could not be established at one stroke, but that

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even a small beginning was a step towards the final result. Doubtless he would have preferred to have plenty of capital at his command, but he was not the man to be frightened by pecuniary difficulties. He was full of faith that, if departments were needed, the funds required would be forthcoming in due course. It was by his ventures of faith that he was enabled to make one addition after another to the activities of the college. His boldness bordered at times on recklessness, but without it the sphere of the college would have remained small, and its services to the country limited in kind and degree. Principal Jones's passion for expansion frightened timid souls but it has been justified by the results. The financial strain of the college has been at times acute, but it has been able to pay its way, and the late Principal was able also to leave behind him a substantial sum towards the erection of new buildings. His invincible faith in the future of the college enabled him to overcome obstacles that would have crushed a less heroic soul, and he had the power of imparting to his fellow-workers his own enthusiasm and hope. The educational leaders of the Principality were crippled from the first by limited resources, but they refused to narrow their vision within the petty present, and looked forward confidently to greater things. Already their faith has been justified, and it will be still more abundantly justified in the coming days. The Medical School has helped many of the sons of Wales; and now that there is a probability that the power of granting medical degrees will soon be conferred on the University of Wales, we may calmly predict still greater success for the Cardiff Medical School. The starting of the Medical School was the last great forward step which Principal Jones made in the direction of new departments. During his remaining years he sought to consolidate and

develop the schemes which he had initiated, and to provide suitable buildings for carrying on and perfecting the work of the college; but before calling attention to his activity in this sphere, it is advisable to review as rapidly as possible the service which he rendered to Wales in the establishment of the University, a service even greater and more lasting than that of laying the foundations of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

The pioneers of Welsh education, as far back as Owen Glyndwr, had dreamed of a Welsh University, but this dream was not realised till the close of the nineteenth century, and that after fifty years of preparatory work. It does not fall within my power to write the history of the University Movement in Wales, but its final establishment cannot be understood without some reference to what had taken place during the preceding half century. St. David's College, Lampeter, which had been founded in 1822 for the reception and education of persons destined for Holy Orders, obtained in 1852 a charter enabling it to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and in 1865 an additional charter for conferring the degree of Bachelor of Arts, but it was evident that a Welsh University could not be based on such a limited foundation; the question was how to broaden the basis. For a time the Welsh educationists, led by Mr. Hugh Owen, concentrated their strength on establishing schools and colleges, and the meeting convened in 1854 to promote higher education in Wales concerned itself mainly with the establishment in Wales of colleges after the type of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. In the previous year, however, Mr. B. T. Williams, Q.C., had issued a pamphlet suggesting a University for Wales after the type of the Glasgow University. In 1862, two other Pembrokeshire men, Dr. David

Thomas and Dr. Thomas Nicholas, advocated a University for Wales, and the latter wrote a series of letters to the "*Cambria Daily Leader*," which were afterwards published under the title, "Middle and High Schools and a University for Wales." These attracted the attention of Mr. Hugh Owen and, in 1863, Dr. Nicholas read a paper at a meeting of the National Eisteddfod held at Swansea, on the Welsh University Movement, in which he set forth powerfully the claims of Wales for Government aid in higher education similar to that already given to Scotland and Ireland. He maintained that a University for Wales must embrace the whole of the Welsh people, and must clash with no existing national institutions. Soon after this a University Committee met in London, and it was resolved to seek the immediate establishment of a University for Wales. It was to be absolutely free from ecclesiastical and denominational peculiarities, and the models to be followed were the University of London and the Queen's University of Ireland. In the following year this committee met a deputation from St. David's College, Lampeter, and it was agreed at the conference that a new college of an entirely open and unsectarian character, together with St. David's College, which was to retain its distinctive character as a Church of England College, should constitute one University, with the power to affiliate any other college in Wales that might come up to the University standard; but in the attempt to carry out the scheme various difficulties arose, and the plan had to be abandoned. The committee then devoted its energies to the establishment of a University College in Wales. This was opened at Aberystwyth in 1872, and its curriculum was largely based on the degree regulations of the University of London. The founders were

still prepared to negotiate with St. David's College, Lampeter, with a view to uniting the two colleges in one University, or, if this was impracticable, they hoped that in course of time the College at Aberystwyth would develop into a University for Wales; but, notwithstanding its splendid services to Welsh education, the college did not rise to the level of a University, either in equipment or in the number and status of its students, and when Lord Aberdare's Departmental Committee met in 1880 the University of Wales was still a dream. The establishment of the University Colleges at Cardiff and at Bangor, in addition to Aberystwyth, in consequence of the report of that committee, soon changed the whole problem, and it became clear that the University of Wales would have to be modelled on a different plan from any hitherto suggested. Not a few felt that the question of a University would have to wait for years, perhaps for a quarter of a century, and that in the meantime the University Colleges would have to prepare their students for the degrees of the University of London. The wrecks of so many former schemes had made the long tried friends of the University Movement timid and distrustful about suggesting another University scheme. Then Principal Viriamu Jones took up the problem and, under his leadership, the idea of a University for Wales became an accomplished fact. In his speech at the inauguration of the Cardiff College in October, 1883, he sounded strong and clear the University note, yea, and outlined his idea of what the University should be, and it is remarkable how similar to this ideal is the University that has come into being. Many others co-operated with him in the work, but he had definite and distinct convictions from the beginning, and these ultimately prevailed. In his inaugural address in October, 1883, he said: "I regard this college as an institution one

day to be affiliated to the University of Wales, a day we hope not far off. We must aim at that; we must be content with nothing less than that. The various colleges of Wales will be isolated units till the University of Wales exists, not in name, but in fact. The inauguration of the colleges is the first step towards a University, and I hope that in a short time the success of the Welsh colleges will be so great that we shall be able to go to the Government with a strong case, and ask them to carry out the recommendation of the Commissioners. I believe that when the University is founded, it will bring about a harmony of sentiment and interest between the colleges affiliated to it, that cannot be attained in any other way. Wales needs a University, and I now go on to consider what the functions of a University are, what duties it has to perform, and what work it is essential that it should do." He enumerates four functions of a University: (1) To teach; (2) to examine conferring its degrees and diplomas on successful students: (3) to encourage original investigation in all branches of knowledge; (4) to control the intermediate education of the country.

He places teaching first, and lays great stress on it. He also sees clearly that the teaching must be imparted by the University Colleges; they will form the University as far as teaching is concerned. He expresses the hope that St. David's College, Lampeter, will give up its privileges in order to receive larger privileges as one of the Colleges of the University of Wales. He seeks to set examinations in their right place. They are secondary, not primary. They enable a University to pick out those students that deserve the stamp of its approval. They may not be the best instrument for doing this, but they are the only practical method under present

circumstances. They also supply a stimulus to the student. With them are associated the pleasures of pursuit, the delight of a contest, the joy of success. They may also serve as a guide to the student through the intricate labyrinth of his studies. The University must examine, and not the colleges, but the examinations must not be so rigid and unalterable as to blunt the keen edge of originality. There should be a close connection between the examiners and the teachers, and there should also be examiners independent of the teachers. The teachers are to help not only in the examinations, but also in drawing up the schemes of study, and so room is made for individuality and for anything that is specially characteristic of Wales. He laid stress on original investigations which should be helped and encouraged by libraries, laboratories and fellowships, that students may not merely be gatherers of other men's stuff, but contribute something themselves to the sum of human knowledge. He also held that a University should be a guide in secondary education and provide a standard for intermediate schools.

Some years passed ere any effective step was taken towards the establishment of a University, but in the year 1887, at the Cymmrodorion Society's meeting in connection with the National Eisteddfod held in London, Principal Jones opened a discussion on the "Future Development of the Welsh Educational System," and made a strong plea for a National University. Using a simile suggested by his own department of physics, he urged that a University was wanted to "order the scattered and disconnected results of previous action as a magnet arranges the iron filings within its field of force." Among other educationists, Dr. Isambard Owen was present at this meeting at Aberystwyth and, as the result of the Cardiff Principal's powerful address and the subsequent

discussion, a resolution was passed—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that definite action should be taken to impress on Her Majesty's Government the desire of the Welsh people for the establishment of a Welsh University." Passing resolutions is one thing, carrying them into effect is quite another. Now the real difficulties began, but Principal Jones never lost heart, and with unfailing patience and rare skill he piloted his scheme through all the breakers. The first essential thing was that the educational leaders of Wales should agree upon a University scheme. In order to arrive at a mutual understanding, a series of conferences took place. The first was held in Shrewsbury in the month of January, 1888, and was presided over by Principal Rhys. The University question was discussed, and a resolution in its favour adopted; but at this meeting more stress was laid on the necessity for carrying out forthwith the suggestions of the report of Lord Aberdare's Departmental Committee for the institution of a system of intermediate or secondary schools in Wales. Principal Jones was as keen as any one in his desire for a better system of secondary education, but he did not think the University question should be postponed on account of the need for secondary schools; on the contrary, he was of the opinion that the secondary schools when established should be largely under the guidance of the University. While many of the Welsh educationists were devoting their strength to the Intermediate Education Movement, the colleges kept pressing the University question. In April, 1888, the court of governors of the North Wales College invited the authorities of the other two colleges "to appoint representatives to meet an equal number appointed by that court to formulate a draft charter for a degree-conferring University." A conference of representatives

of the three colleges soon afterwards met in London, and resolved—"That an application be made to the Government for a charter to constitute a University for Wales on the same general lines as the charter already granted to the Victoria University, with such modifications as may be required by the peculiar conditions and circumstances of Wales." This decision was communicated to the Lord President of the Council, and he, in reply, invited the representatives of the colleges to submit a draft charter for his consideration.

Naturally the three colleges were the prime movers in the matter, for they felt keenly the disadvantages of having to follow slavishly the regulations of the University of London, and of being deprived of all real freedom and power of initiative in the direction of University studies; but their active exertions in favour of a University gave rise to a somewhat bitter controversy. Their zeal was set down to interested motives; their scheme, it was said had for its aim the propping up of the three University Colleges at the expense of other colleges and institutions, though no other college in Wales could claim to stand on a level with the three University Colleges in equipment or number of students. Moreover the colleges that existed, and had rendered admirable services to higher education in Wales before the existence of the University College, were all denominational institutions, and there were almost insuperable difficulties in the way of making them constituent colleges of a national University in a country where the denominational lines are so marked as in Wales; nevertheless the friends and supporters of these institutions thought they should in some way be associated with the University. In addition to this, there was in Wales at the time a considerable number of enthusiasts for the London University system in which

the University was a mere examining body. It was reasonable that Wales should be grateful to London University, which had opened its doors to students from the Principality when the doors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been closed against the great majority of its people, but the loud outcry in favour of the London system was the outcome of blind impulse rather than of well-informed conviction. It seemed as if the proverbial dissension of the Welsh would once more destroy the prospect of a National University. It was a critical moment, but Principal Jones was equal to the occasion, and manifested his superb qualities as a general. Instead of seeking to force the pace, and rush the scheme of the three colleges, he encouraged discussion; but lost no opportunity of emphasising the great superiority of a teaching university over a mere examining body. He had a right to speak, for he had personal experience of both kinds of universities, the examining University of London and the teaching University of Oxford, and there could be no doubt whatever about the conclusion to which he been driven. The examinations of a mere examining university are haphazard, arbitrary and utterly wanting in elasticity. They are difficult to pass, but they do not ensure a high average of attainment. They do not ensure the systematic training of the powers of the mind with harmonious development of the social and intellectual life of the student. They tend to produce a smart and superficial kind of knowledge rather than thorough training and profound study. They do not encourage original investigation and scientific research. They lack the supreme thing in education, the contact of students with great scholars and distinguished scientists, the influence of master minds and noble souls on the intellect and character of the young. As the discussion

proceeded it became evident that the public sympathy was turning distinctly in the direction of a teaching University and, at the invitation of the University College of North Wales, a conference was held at Shrewsbury on November 11, 1891, to prepare a draft scheme for a Welsh University.

The conference proceeded by means of general resolutions, the substance of which were (*a*) that the University of Wales should be a teaching University; only students who had pursued a prescribed course of study at one of the colleges of the University could be admitted to a degree. (*b*) These colleges should be the University Colleges at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, and such colleges as may hereafter, with the sanction of the Crown, be recognised by the University. (*c*) That powers be sought for giving degrees in arts and sciences, and in such other faculties as may be sanctioned by the Crown at the request of the University, *e.g.*, theology, medicine, law, music. (*d*) That the University should have power to inspect and examine intermediate schools and other educational institutions, and that provision should be made for the encouragement of University Extension Lectures. These resolutions were carried unanimously. Another resolution was also carried, but with several dissentients, (*e*) That the teachers in each faculty in each college of the University shall have a substantial share in the framing of the curriculum of study and scheme of examination. At a glance it can be seen what a remarkable resemblance these resolutions bear to the University scheme suggested by Principal Jones at the opening of the University College at Cardiff in October, 1883. He would be the first to admit that he had learnt much from others, and to acknowledge that the University Charter was the outcome of the deliberation and

co-operation of a large number of enlightened educationists, but there can be no doubt whatever who supplied the guiding mind in the process of construction.

A draft Charter Committee was then appointed, which, after many meetings, submitted a complete scheme to the Conference on January 6, 1893. This followed the outline decided upon by the first conference with the addition of theology as one of the faculties to be established at once. The scheme, with slight modifications, was adopted, and then circulated throughout the Principality and discussed all over Wales. Then it was submitted by the three University Colleges, and subsequently to the Lord President of the Council, and after some minor changes it was approved by the Privy Council, and ordered to be laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament. Opposition was not yet quite at an end; the Lords passed a motion asking Her Majesty to withhold the charter until such portions shall have been omitted as prevent the inclusion of St. David's College, Lampeter; but in spite of the resolution of the Lords, the Government adhered to the proposed charter. In the House of Commons those who advocated the giving of degrees to non-collegiate students raised a protest, but the motion to reject the charter was negatived without a division, and the charter establishing a University for Wales received the Royal assent on November 30, 1893. Thus the dream of generations of Welsh educationists began to be a living reality, and Viriamu Jones's name must ever be closely associated with this great event in our national history. Other men did yeoman service, notably Dr. Isambard Owen, who took such an active part in framing the scheme and made the whole of Wales his debtor through the great tact and administrative skill with which he guided the various

deliberations that culminated in the University Charter.

During the discussions several models had been suggested for the Welsh University, such as the University of Glasgow, the University of Ireland, the London University, the Victoria University, but its charter did not closely follow any of these, much less is it in its practical working an exact copy of any.

The two most important bodies of the University are the Court and the Senate. The Court is the supreme governing body of the University. It consists of one hundred and one members, the Chancellor, thirteen members appointed by the Lord President of the Council, twenty-six appointed by County Councils and County Boroughs, thirty-six elected by the three constituent colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor and Cardiff, thirteen appointed by the Guild of Graduates, six appointed by the head teachers of schools, and six appointed by the Central Welsh Board. The constitution of the University, therefore, is democratic, as befits a University for the people. The chief officer of the University is the chancellor. Lord Aberdare, in recognition of his unique services to Higher Education in Wales, was elected the first Chancellor of the University, but he died soon after his appointment, and then H.R.H. Albert Edward Prince of Wales graciously consented to become Chancellor. On his being raised to the throne as King Edward VII., he continued his connection with the University under the title of Protector, and his son H.R.H. the Prince of Wales accepted the Chancellorship. Two deputy chancellors were appointed; the senior Deputy Chancellor is practically the official head of the University. This office has been held from the beginning by Sir Isambard Owen, who has thus continued to Wales the invaluable services which he rendered in the formation of the University.

In the absence of the Chancellor, he presides at the meeting of the Court and its committees.

The Senate of the University consists of the heads of all departments of study, recognised by the University in the three constituent colleges. There are no University professors apart from the colleges; the link between the colleges and the University is thus of the closest kind. To the Senate belongs the work of formulating schemes of study and examinations. These, however, have to be presented by the colleges and sanctioned by the Court, which has the final authority in all matters. The chairman of the Senate is the Vice-chancellor of the University. His position is in many respects the most important in the University, for he is the chief executive officer of the University in all matters relating to University studies and examinations during his term of office. In order that the three constituents may be on a level of perfect equality in relation to the University, the office of Vice-chancellor is held by the Principals of the three Colleges in rotation. The meetings of the Senate, and also the meetings of the Court for conferring degrees, in like manner go round the constituent colleges. Principal Viriamu Jones, was elected first Vice-chancellor of the University on the ground of seniority, in this case seniority and pre-eminent claims were in complete harmony, and no arrangement could have been more fitting than the bestowal of the honour of the first Vice-chancellorship of the University on the possessor of the master mind that brought it into existence.

Besides the Court and Senate, the Guild of Graduates is an essential part of the University though it was shorn of much of its importance in the latter stages of the construction of the Charter. It is made up of the teachers and graduates of the University. So far its chief work,

in addition to the election of members on the University Court, has been the publication of Welsh books and manuscripts. It has also rendered excellent service in collecting funds for University Fellowships. As the number of Welsh graduates increase the guild may be expected to interest itself more in distinctly national questions.

The theological colleges of Wales are linked to the University by means of the Theological Board, a committee of the Court to advise it concerning theological studies. The teachers of these colleges are now recognised by the University and form a Theological Senate which has power to make suggestions to the Theological Board. As the secondary and elementary teachers are represented on the Court of the University, they also have a share in the Government. Thus educationists of all grades, as well as the leading men engaged in the local government of counties and boroughs, are banded together for the purposes of higher education. In the constitution of the University thus briefly sketched, Principal Jones's ideal of an institution to unite all branches of Welsh education has, to a large extent, been realised.

In one important direction he failed to carry his proposals. In his first speech at Cardiff and at the University Conferences, he laid stress upon the function of a University as a guide and director of secondary schools. His failure to carry this idea into effect was partly due to the fact that the Intermediate Education Act for Wales was passed in 1889, four years before the establishment of the University. The schools that were brought into existence by this Act came eventually under the control of a special board, called the Central Welsh Board. Principal Jones strongly opposed the formation of such a Board, believing that the secondary schools should be under the direction of the University. He pleaded for

this on the ground of unity and efficiency, and in order to avoid friction and waste of energy through the multiplication of committees and officers; but when he was defeated, he did not sulk in his tent, but used all his influence to develop a sound and efficient system of secondary education in the Principality. No man had a clearer grasp of the problems to be solved, and his criticisms and suggestions were of exceptional value. The present Chairman of the Board (Professor Anwyl) speaks in the highest terms of his penetrating insight and of the fine spirit which he manifested in the discussions of the Board. As a recognition of his splendid services he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Board, and held that office to the last year of his life.

Whether his scheme would have worked better than that which was adopted may still be open to debate. It is certain that the strain on some of the educational administrators of Wales has been considerably increased by the necessity of attending the meetings both of the University and of the Central Board; also some amount of friction has arisen between the University and the secondary schools which might have been avoided by a closer connection between them. Happily these differences are disappearing, and the schools and the University are coming more into line. Moreover the Education Act of 1902 has greatly modified the problem. The secondary and elementary schools are being brought into a closer relationship, and the prospect of willing co-operation between the various parts of the educational machine and of complete sympathy between those engaged in the several grades of education is brighter than ever. It was this unity which Principal Jones sought above all things, the method of obtaining it is a subordinate matter. Hard as he had worked to found the University, he worked

harder still to ensure its success after it was established. Whether engaged in appealing to the Government for financial aid, or in discussing questions of educational policy, or in framing statutes and regulations or in administering them, he threw his whole soul into the work. All his powers of judgment and insight, enthusiasm and faith were unreservedly devoted to the service of the institution. His guidance during the initial stages was simply invaluable, and he has left his mark deeply on the regulations for degrees and examinations.

He never forgot that the University was for the people of Wales, and not for a select few ; he therefore constantly insisted on doing all that was possible to bring its benefits within the reach of all classes of the community. He pleaded for moderate university fees, that the poor students may not be handicapped. While aiming at a high standard of attainment, he set his face strongly against making it impracticable. Above all things he fought for freedom in the University curriculum, freedom for the individual colleges in the formation of their schemes of study, that such teacher might have full play for his distinct individuality, and freedom for the student in the choice of subjects. The latter is most conspicuous in the regulations for the Arts degree, which were framed very largely in accordance with his views. The Faculty of Art first suggested a scheme on somewhat stereotyped lines, which did not at all meet with his approval. Though himself a member of the Faculty of Science, he asked for special permission to address the Faculty of Arts on the matter, and so powerful and persuasive were his arguments that the regulations were recast. The guiding principle of the scheme is freedom of choice, with only such limitations as are essential to secure educational efficiency. The student is permitted to construct his own

scheme of study, only it must consist of at least nine courses spread over three Academical years. In order to avoid a mere smattering of a multiplicity of subjects, it is exacted that in one subject at least three courses must be taken spreading over three years, and in at least three other subjects two courses each spreading over two years. He maintained that it was not so much the subject studied that was important as the earnestness and thoroughness with which it was treated. The scheme thus enabled a student to select subjects suited to his own natural gifts and useful for his future career. The full freedom of choice was slightly limited by the requirement that one course at least should be taken in Greek or Latin, and subsequently by the further limitation that at least one non-linguistic subject is compulsory. One of these nine courses may be taken in a science. Principal Jones predicted that the result of the liberty given would be several well defined groups of subjects, such as the Classical group, the English group, the Modern Language group, the Philosophic group, the Theological group and the Educational group, and his prediction has been to a great extent verified. It must be admitted that the freedom of choice has been occasionally abused, but this has been a trifling evil compared with the great impulse given to study by the spirit of liberty. Speaking of the class of students with whom I am most familiar, students preparing for the Christian Ministry, I can unhesitatingly assert that the Welsh degree scheme has quite transformed the character of their students. Under the old cast-iron London scheme, only a small percentage of them wished for degrees; now the majority of them do, and not a few have distinguished themselves. The merit or the plan has not only been justified by its results in Wales, but it has led other universities, particularly that of London,

to allow a much larger choice of subjects for the arts degree. The regulations for the science degree were somewhat more rigid and inelastic, but experience has revealed the necessity for dispensing with some of the restrictions, in order to give fuller play to the principle of freedom.

The liberty of choice in the arts subjects enabled Welsh to take its place in the curriculum without any controversy. Welsh stands on the same level as any other optional language, and may be taken by all candidates for a degree, for one, two or three years. When fault is found with the treatment of Welsh by the University, what then is meant? Is it suggested that Welsh should be made compulsory on every candidate for an arts degree? Principal Jones could not, consistently with his love for freedom, sanction such a claim, and when we remember the large number of people in Wales who cannot speak Welsh, it is clear that such a restriction would be disastrous for the University. Welsh has the same chance as any other optional subject. In what other University has it this place? In how many has it any place at all? The number of students taking Welsh may have been disappointing, but that is not the fault of the University: the blame lies rather with the elementary and secondary schools which have so greatly neglected Welsh even in the Welsh districts. Happily a new spirit is now abroad, and we may expect a larger proportion of candidates to take Welsh in the future, but for that there will be no need for any change in the University regulations, not even if all candidates should desire to take Welsh as a subject in their arts degree. But though students have not flocked towards Welsh, a large number have taken it, and the Welsh University has done far more than any other institution for the study of Welsh. Before its establishment, the number of first-class Welsh scholars was

surprisingly small. For ten years the University has not been able to change its external examiner in Welsh, because of the difficulty of finding a Welsh-speaking Welshman sufficiently qualified, but after the work done in Welsh at the colleges for ten years in connection with the University, that state of things cannot last much longer.

The position assigned to Welsh history may not have been quite so satisfactory, but this was the fault of the colleges and of the examiners rather than of University regulations. In the matriculation syllabus the history of England *and Wales* has been compulsory from the beginning. Courses in Welsh history have been included with history all along, and now Cardiff College has introduced Welsh history as an essential part of the history course annually. There was nothing in the University regulations to prevent this from the start. The initiation of courses is left to the colleges, the University simply sees that they are educationally sound and sufficient. The University in the matter of teaching and selection of subjects acts through the constituent colleges, and these colleges are democratic in their structure. If the right teachers are not selected, it is not the fault of the University, for as such it selects no teachers, it simply recognises the selections of the colleges. And the colleges are governed by the representatives of the Welsh people. Naturally in the early stages of the colleges and the University the teachers were largely composed of Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen, and I feel bound to bear testimony to the splendid services which they have rendered to the Principality. That they have been perfect, I will not maintain; that they have been occasionally somewhat slow to grasp the Welsh point of view, I must candidly admit; but, on the whole, they have been anxious to meet the reasonable

wishes of the Welsh people, and they have laid Wales under a deep obligation to them. As the University grows, the number of Welsh graduates fitted to hold high positions in it will naturally increase, and it will become more fully conversant with the ideas and wishes of the Welsh people, and a more accurate reflection of the national life and genius.

The regulations for the examinations of the University are in some respects peculiar; here also the guiding mind was that of Principal Jones. He laid great stress on the close connection between teaching and examining, and was careful to guard against the haphazard and often unfair features of examinations. To ensure that, the examinations should be on the work done by the colleges, one teacher in each department in each college is appointed internal examiner in that department. To guarantee an adequately high standard, an external examiner, eminent in his own branch of study, and unconnected with any of the Welsh colleges, is chosen in each subject. He has the chief hand in setting the examination papers, and no candidate is allowed to pass without his sanction. The external examiner, together with the internal examiners, form an examining board in each subject, under the presidency of the Vice-Chancellor. Each examining board acts quite independently. Principal Jones laid great stress on this for two reasons. Firstly, in order to maintain a high standard, by avoiding the temptation to let a student through in a subject in which he has not reached a good standard because he has risen above the standard in other subjects; and secondly, to enable a student who has done well in a particular subject to advance a stage in that though he may have failed in other subjects. The plan seemed complex on paper, but Principal Jones maintained that its practical working

would be very simple, and this view has been verified by experience. These details have been mentioned to illustrate how thoroughly he had thought out the various problems of the University, and how sympathetically he entered into the various questions connected with higher education in Wales. His wisdom and foresight gave the young University an excellent start, its rapid progress was largely due to his guidance, and it is gratifying to know that the impulse given by him is not spent; under his successors, the graduates have steadily increased in number, and the work done continues to improve in quality. In training for initial degrees it is doubtful if any other University can show such a remarkable record during the first decade of its history.

In the high realm of research and original investigation, its achievements are as yet only moderate. Such work can only grow when the soil has been prepared for it; happily there are not wanting signs that in this direction a great forward movement is at hand in connection with the University of Wales. The great amount of time and energy which Principal Jones had to expend in administrative work, in connection with the college and the University, compelled him to give up teaching altogether, a necessity which he never failed to deplore. It also deprived him of the leisure required to pursue original investigations. His scientific work was mainly concerned with the measurement of electrical resistance, and he was a member of the Committee of the British Association on the subject. He was particularly interested in the determination of the standard ohm by the Lorenz method, and constructed a Lorenz apparatus for the Physical Laboratory at Cardiff. For his scientific attainments and his services to scientific investigation he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in the year 1894.

What he might have accomplished in original research had he been allowed to devote his full energies to it cannot now be determined, the wonder is that, amid the stress and strain of college and University administration, he was able to do anything in this direction.

He was very anxious that research should have due attention at the Welsh colleges, and that it should receive the encouragement of the University; and the council of the college has very fittingly decided to erect in the new college buildings a research laboratory in honour of his memory.

Another honour was conferred on him in the year 1897 when he was elected a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.

We must now return to the college at Cardiff. The rapid success of the University multiplied and intensified the college problems. New departments came into existence. History was separated from English. Biology was divided into botany and zoology. Metallurgy was introduced into the college curriculum, and given a place among University subjects. Even when departments were not added, assistant professors and lecturers had to be appointed to meet the growing number of students and the greater scope and thoroughness of teaching required by the University. All this was a very great strain on the limited funds of the College.

New buildings became a pressing necessity. The multiplication of temporary buildings could not go on for ever. As soon as the University was launched sucessfully, the Principal devoted himself to the consideration of a fitting dwelling place for the College and its work.

The first permanent building to be erected was the Aberdare Hall of residence for women students. Two houses in Richmond Road were used for the purpose

for several years, but in 1895 the new hall of residence near Cathays Park was opened.

The first step towards the erection of college buildings was the choice of a site. Cathays Park had been purchased by the Cardiff Corporation, and an offer of an admirable site in this park near the new Municipal Buildings was made to the college at a cost of £10,000, and this was provisionally accepted by the council.

When the site had been fixed, a start was made with collecting funds. Supported by the Cardiff Corporation and many men of position and influence, Principal Jones approached the Government. Sir William Harcourt said that the Principal "was the cleverest beggar he had ever met with, and about the only one he could not get rid of without promising to give him what he wanted." A grant of £20,000 was secured from the Government towards the new buildings on condition that £20,000 be raised locally. The challenge was taken up earnestly, and at the first meeting held at the Cardiff Town Hall a sum over £13,000 was promised; and though the merchant princes of the district did not, as a whole respond generously to the appeal, within a few months the £20,000 limit was reached. The Drapers' Company London, made a generous donation of £10,000, so that with the Government grant the building fund soon reached, over £50,000, and the hopes for the speedy erection of a new college building rose high. Alas! the great strain, of the work of the college and the University, together with the numerous claims of various educational bodies, began to undermine the health of the ardent and enthusiastic Principal. He did not take proper time for food and rest, while regular recreation was almost out of the question. He kept up bravely and hopefully for a time, but the frail frame could no longer support the burning

spirit within. The college council granted him a long leave of absence, and he went to Geneva for rest and special treatment. In October, 1900, he returned apparently restored, and took up anew his college duties. He headed a deputation to the Cardiff Corporation praying that the college site offered unto them at £10,000 might be given as a free gift. The request had been frequently made before and had been definitely refused during his absence from Cardiff, but his plea was so powerful and persuasive, that the council determined to reverse its previous decision, and to make a present of the site to the college, thus raising the contributions for the new college to £60,000. This was his last great service to the college. He went through the Michaelmas term without any evident break-down, but during the Christmas vacation the dyspeptic trouble returned in an acute form. For months he sought the best advice he could obtain in this country, but recovery was very slow. In May he determined to try Geneva once more, and left for Paris accompanied by his wife and his eldest brother, Mr. Brynmor Jones. The latter returned from Paris, leaving Viriamu cheerful and hopeful as he left for Geneva in the company of his wife.

His wife had been throughout his career a sympathetic helper. She was the eldest daughter of Mr. W. Wills of Wylde Green, near Birmingham, and a niece of Mr. Justice Wills. The marriage took place in Sheffield in the year 1884. This accomplished lady was in full accord with her husband's cherished ideals, and rendered valuable services to Cardiff as a member of the School Board, and in connection with other educational and social institutions. It was natural and fitting that the gracious lady who had cheered and encouraged him during his strenuous public life, and made his home a restful retreat, should

be his companion and consoler as the end of the earthly journey drew nigh.

The news from Geneva was at first favourable, and it was generally believed that under the care of Dr. Pasteur and other specialists, aided by a prolonged rest, the Principal's life might be prolonged; but, almost without any preliminary warning, the news came that he had passed away quietly about noon on Sunday, June 2, 1901. Cardiff and the whole of the Principality were plunged in the deepest mourning; everywhere the sense of irreparable loss was felt. Not even his most intimate friends and ardent admirers had realised how deep a hold he had taken of his fellow-countrymen. The body was brought to Cardiff for the funeral which took place on Saturday, June 8. Wales is noted for its large and impressive funerals, but it surpassed itself in the funeral of Principal Jones. Who among those that witnessed what took place in Cardiff and Swansea on that hot Saturday in June can ever forget the solemn scenes. The memorial service held in the Park Hall was pathetic, beautiful and inspiring. Representatives of all sections of the community were there to pay tribute to one who had spent himself ungrudgingly in the service of his country.

Prayers were offered by the Rev. J. Morgan Jones and Dr. Edwards, Principal of the Baptist College, Cardiff. The Right Rev. Bishop of Llandaff read the lesson and pronounced the benediction, and the Rev. J. Williamson, M.A., Minister of the Charles Street Congregational Church, of which the Principal was a member, preached the sermon from the words, "I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do." One of the most touching parts of the very beautiful and appropriate sermon was that which referred to the dead leader as another Moses, who had been allowed to see in vision the

promised land, but had not been permitted to enter himself. His part of the work had been well and nobly done. God meant it to be carried on and completed by other hands. Principal Jones had worked hard for years to promote national unity, and a striking illustration of that union was furnished by his funeral, in which representatives of all sections of religion, and educational, political and social, commercial and industrial life, joined to honour the hero that was being carried with honours to the tomb.

The procession through the town to the Great Western Station was noteworthy for its length and solemnity. A sacred hush seemed to have fallen over the busy town. All thoughts were for the moment centred on the great national figure. No general could have had a more imposing funeral; and there was real truth in the words of the omnibus driver who, on being asked by a stranger the meaning of the unique procession, replied: "Oh, it's the funeral of Mister Principal Jones, he's been out to the front."

The special train arranged for the coffin and the mourners rushed through the fields gay with the beauty of summer, and through the busy centres of the South Wales industries towards Swansea, the birth-place of Viriamu. There, as well as in Cardiff, all classes came forth to honour the great Principal. The towns of Cardiff and Swansea had been rivals in seeking the University College of South Wales, but that day they joined hands in paying tribute to the national leader who had been called to rest.

The vast procession wended its way slowly through the streets of Swansea up to Danygraig Cemetery. There the eloquent father had been buried, and there the young brother Irvonwy, drowned in Swansea Bay as his brilliant powers were beginning to unfold, had found

repose, and now Viriamu takes his place in the family tomb. The service at the grave side was very simple, and was conducted by the Rev. Evan Jenkins of Walter Road, and the Rev. W. Emlyn Jones, Morriston.

We cannot apply to Viriamu the words of his brother Irvonwy which became his own epitaph—

> "Like unto a golden argosy
> Smote by an envious wind,
> All sunken in a steely sea,
> Leaving no track behind."

for Principal Jones has left behind him two great institutions, the Cardiff College and the University of Wales; and he has also left a noble example. But let me quote the golden sentences penned by Principal Jones himself two years before his death, when another brilliant son of Wales passed away in his prime. If instead of Thomas Ellis we write Viriamu Jones, how appropriate the words seem!—

"God compasses his ends in many ways. They are not always our ways, and often we cannot understand. But may it not be that under His fostering care the seeds sown by Thomas Ellis may bear a harvest none the less mighty for his early death? We have lost his living presence, but his ideals and the memory of his life remain with us as an abiding stimulus. His faith in the future of his country, his belief in the character of his people, his devotion to his country's service, his high example in every relation of life, remain with us, and may become to succeding generations an inspiring tradition."

Frederick W. Robertson says, in one of his sermons, "There is a moment when a man's life is relived on earth. It is in that hour in which the coffin lid is shut down, just before the funeral, when earth has seen the last of him for ever. Then the whole life is, as it were, lived

over again in the conversation which turns upon the memory of the departed."

Just before and immediately after the funeral a large number of estimates of Principal Jones's character and service appeared in the public Press. They were remarkable for their warmth and glow, and tone of genuineness and sincerity. There was no need for panegyric. The mere record of facts spoke eloquently and convincingly.

H.M. King Edward VII. sent a gracious expression of appreciation and sympathy; and the whole Principality felt that a great prince in Israel had fallen, and was eager to pay fitting tribute to the dead chief.

It was felt by his intimate friends and ardent admirers that some permanent monument should be erected to his memory. The council of the college decided to build a research laboratory in the new college in honour of their first Principal. Other friends resolved to erect a marble statue of him to be placed in the vestibule of the new college buildings. A fund of £1,000 was raised for the purpose and the work was entrusted to Mr. W. Goscombe John. The unveiling ceremony took place on Saturday, December 1, 1906, in the Cardiff City Hall, where the City Council has given the statue a temporary home until the college buildings will be ready to receive it. The speeches delivered on the occasion were remarkable for their depth of feeling and tenderness of expression. Sir. David Brynmor Jones, K.C., M.P., expressed on behalf of the family their appreciation of all these tokens of affection and esteem bestowed on one who was very dear to them. It was evident that after the lapse of over five years the memory of the late Principal remained fresh and green, and that no abatement had taken place in the high estimate formed of his services to the Principality. The inscription on the statue is—

John Viriamu Jones, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.
First Principal of the College, 1883—1901.
First Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales.

This statue was erected by his friends in memory of his wise, unwearied spirit, and of a life devoted to the service of his country.

In reviewing such a career, "crowded with great events and critical situations," one naturally asks what was the secret of its success? How was one man able to accomplish so much in a comparatively short period! The answer must be: "By a combination of qualities which are seldom found together in the same individual."

He was a man of brilliant natural gifts, high and varied attainments. As Lord Tredegar said at the unveiling ceremony, "He would have risen to the top in any sphere of life." He was associated with many able men in college and university work, men that surpassed him in individual qualifications, but none of them approached him in symmetry of talents, width and variety of acquirements. His intellect was naturally keen, acute and vigorous, and this had been polished and sharpened by contact with great minds. His dialectic skill was remarkable. It was a pleasure to watch his movements in a debate. He entered into it with all the zest and enthusiasm of an athlete, whether the theme was educational or scientific, logical or metaphysical. He did not hesitate to try swords with lawyers on points of law, and only rarely was he defeated. He was quick to see the central point of a discussion, and marshalled his arguments with great skill and dexterity.

Along with this mental agility he had the broad common sense of a man of affairs. Occasionally, indeed, his logical subtlety overcame his soundness of judgment,

as in the debate whether there could be two heads of the Department of Education on the University Senate for Cardiff College. He pleaded acutely that there could, but the argument was clever rather than convincing. But such aberration was very unusual with him. In general his intellectual smartness was kept in check by practical wisdom. His power of acquisition was marvellous. There was scarcely a branch of knowledge in which he was not interested. His devotion to science had not destroyed his love of literature. Towards the end of his life he gave much attention to the law, and he was always attracted by the problems of philosophy and theology. Welshmen generally excel in smartness and cleverness rather than in depth of thought. Viriamu had all the quickness of the Celt and the dash of a Welshman, but with these qualities of mind he had a breadth and thoroughness which very few possess. Perhaps no people are more easily swayed by mental ability than the Welsh, Their idols for generations have been the eloquent preacher. the dramatic singer, the skilful bard, and the mystic dreamer, and when they witnessed in Viriamu something of this dazzling splendour combined with extraordinary administrative powers, they were deeply impressed, and recognised him as a leader. He himself once said that his father was a man of genius, and that he was merely a man of application, but there can be no doubt that he also had a touch of genius which made his application all the more effective.

He was a man of great personal charms. His winning, captivating, magic smile, his tender, expressive, penetrating eye, his unfailing courtesy and dignified grace, inspired enthusiasm as well as admiration. He was a fascinating talker and a persuasive speaker, his silvery tones and felicitous phrasing, his chivalrous spirit and

delicacy of feeling, his unobtrusive modesty amid all his successes, exercised a species of magnetism over those who came in contact with him. They felt themselves under the spell of a great and gracious personality.

He was a man of broad ideas and wide sympathies. These had come to him both by inheritance and training. His father was a man of advanced theological views. He lived not in a narrow ravine where the vision is limited, but on the height, and looked wistfully over the vast landscape of truth. He was also a man of quick sympathies, as every great preacher and successful minister must be. Viriamu inherited his father's breadth of view and warmth of sympathy. The influence of his teachers at London and Oxford perfected these natural tendencies and endowments.

There was nothing narrow in his intellectual or educational outlook. He aimed at the broadest and most varied culture for the people of Wales. On the other hand, he could sympathise with their national peculiarities and prejudices, and so lead them forth into new realms without constantly hurting their feelings and wounding their susceptibilities. He had a wonderful power of putting himself in another man's position and looking at things from his point of view. Some men can only see at their own particular angle, and become impatient with all who do not adopt their way of looking at things, and the result is constant friction and conflict. Viriamu often had to fight, but he fought all the more successfully because he knew how other people felt and thought; frequently he would win without fighting at all, because he was able to soothe the susceptibilities of opponents without sacrificing anything that was essential. His perfect tact, unfailing courtesy and skilful diplomacy were the outcome of his complete sympathy. He led

men so successfully because he understood them so thoroughly. How patiently he listened to arguments with which he totally disagreed. How diligently he sought to find out what was good and reasonable in contentions that seemed foolish and frivolous! Impetuous combatants became restive, and wished to rush on the enemy and overwhelm them; but his sympathetic attitude won nobler triumphs, for his victories were achieved without leaving any sense of soreness in the vanquished. This sympathetic touch gave him ready access to all hearts. The working classes trusted him, and felt that he understood them and was their friend. The students looked upon him as a guide and helper. He had the power to win the affection of all, and to stir up the noblest and best qualities in every man.

When he had a disappointing announcement to make, he made it with such tenderness and delicacy that the sting of bitterness was removed, and resentment against fate was turned to acquiescence blended with renewed hope. When he was consulted about courses of study or anything that pertained to a student's career, no trouble was spared by him; he entered into the matter with all the zeal and enthusiasm of a father, and made the student feel as if the whole college and its resources existed for his sake. A visit to his room was almost invariably a source of encouragement and inspiration. He never scolded; but by his delicate perception found his way to the seat of honour and responsibility, and made the culprit ashamed of his wrong-doing. His appeal to the best in a delinquent was more powerful than thunders of denunciation. He could reprove without offending; indeed it was a common saying that the students who loved the Principal the most were those who had come under his gentle but effective castigation. Indeed, if there was one

power supreme in Viriamu, it was sympathy, and that cast a warm glow over all his other talents and gifts. It added persuasiveness to his clear arguments and graciousness to his powerful words. It clothed his searching glance with a delicate tenderness and softened his cleverness with rays of kindness. It enabled him not only to understand men, but also to win them. And he used this precious power always for high purposes and noble ends.

He was an enlightened patriot. He truly loved his fatherland, and spent his energies ungrudgingly in its service. He was not loud, blatant and offensive in his patriotism. With him love for his country did not mean blindness with faults or lack of appreciation of the excellencies of other nationalities. He was prepared to acknowledge all that was good in other people, and to welcome it to Wales as far as this was consistent with the Welsh character and disposition, but he was strongly convinced that Wales had peculiar gifts of its own, which only required cultivation to give it an honourable position among the nations. He was proud of its singers and poets. I have heard him defending the National Eisteddfod with great force and enthusiasm, and exulting in the love of the common people of Wales for music and literature. He was naturally proud of its orators and preachers, among whom his honoured father held a distinguished place. Though he was not proficient himself in the Welsh language, he was in full sympathy with the modern efforts to make it most widely and better known. He desired modern Wales to preserve all that was good in the Wales of the past, but he felt that a great forward movement was necessary. The singers and the preachers should be better trained and equipped, and he was very anxious for the progress of the Welsh theological colleges, and took great interest in the connection of the University

with theological studies, and rejoiced in the solid progress made. He wished Welshmen to enter more freely into the realms of law and commerce, and to devote more attention to science and art. He thought the nation had been moving too exclusively in narrow grooves, now it should seek to explore wider realms and render more universal service.

Above all things, he pleaded and wished for national unity. He knew that division and dissension had been the great bane of the Wales of the past. Without union and co-operation Wales would never come to her own. And to him the University was the highest symbol of the national unity. It joined North and South, it was a bond between men of all religious creeds, it was a link binding together all classes of the community. Hence, he was very careful to base it broadly on the people's will, and to make it representative of the whole of the nation. Anything that seemed to make for its division found in him a most determined opponent. He opposed everything that threatened to create antagonism between its constituent colleges, and though he felt that Cardiff was the most convenient place for its registrar to reside, he did not press his views, but agreed heartily to the arrangement that he should reside outside the University College towns, and declared that he did not wish the registrar to come to Cardiff until the representatives of Aberystwyth and Bangor were prepared to support that proposal. In drawing away the thoughts of the Welsh people from things which tend to division, and concentrating them on objects in which all can heartily unite, he proved himself a wise and large-hearted patriot, and rendered great service to the nation. Wales has been the home of patriotism, but alas! this, though deep and intense, has often been narrow and shortsighted. There

can be no doubt about the sincerity of Principal Jones's patriotism; but it was too enlightened and highminded to be gushing, and too broad and wise to be narrow, sectional and local.

He was an indefatigable worker. He presented a striking example of the blessedness of the man who has found his work. He looked upon it not as a difficult task or hard duty, but took it up with joy and ardour. He knew nothing of the indolence which is sometimes associated with brilliant talents. His nature was active and vigorous. He never allowed an opportunity to slip, and consequently did much in a short period.

His activity was infectious. He set others working. No one could be idle in his presence. The sound of his footstep at the college made the whole machinery move with accelerated pace. At the meetings of the Senate his presence was a tonic. Even when wearied with long sittings, at his cheerful call another task was attempted, and another problem solved. The students knew of his unfailing industry and untiring efforts, and the knowledge was to the man incentive to hard work and earnest endeavour.

Doubtless he shortened his life by arduous toil, and the reckless energy with which he worked, but would he have done more, if he had lived longer, through taking things more easily? Such natures cannot live at a humdrum rate. They must spend themselves in service. Even when lying on his bed of sickness he could not rest. A member of the council visited him during his illness, and found him in bed surrounded by a pile of books, and on asking him what these books were, received the reply: "These are books on architecture; I am studying them to try and help you to build the new college." Life was to him an opportunity for service, and the text at his

funeral service, "I have finished the work which Thou hast given me to do," was most appropriate.

He was a man of strong convictions and of resolute will. While willing to give way on minor points, like every wise leader and skilful diplomatist, he had definite aims and fixed principles to which he clung with great tenacity. From the very start of his public career in Wales he made up his mind what was wanted, and worked in season and out of season for the realisation of his ideals. There was nothing haphazard about his movements. He had fixed the goal towards which he was making, and though in the stress of conflict he was oft turned out of the straightest road towards it, he never forgot the mark at which he was aiming, and allowed no obstacles to thwart his progress permanently. This was strikingly seen in the University movement. Many others strongly desired to establish a University for Wales, but they had no definite ideas about the kind of University which they wanted, and so were apt to lose their way and become discouraged in the midst of controversy and opposition. But he had thought the matter out carefully and had come to clear convictions on the subject. To these he adhered firmly and without wavering, and in course of time they prevailed. He knew exactly what he wanted, and finally obtained it. He worked in the light of definite ideas and fixed principles, and by his steadfastness and courage helped to establish higher education in Wales on a broad and firm foundation.

He was a great leader, a born leader, and he led so boldly and successfully because he saw clearly, formed his plans carefully, and adhered steadfastly to his purposes. It is true that he was not vehement and self-assertive in the expression of his views, but for that very reason he

clung to them all the more tenaciously, and generally persuaded others to adopt them.

He was a man of high ideals and glowing enthusiasm. He had been reared under the influence of lofty views of human destiny, and the sense of the privileges of noble service. The Celt has ever been prone to dreams and visions, he cannot rest in the actual, he must cross the boundary into the realm of ideas. His poetry and religion, music and philosophy, minister to this side of his nature, and create passionate earnestness and fervent zeal. Ofttimes these qualities have moved in comparatively narrow limits, in religious revivals, and poetical outbursts, somewhat tinged with fanaticism and extravagance, but in Principal Jones they were combined with a broader outlook. He was able to unite the intensity of the Welsh nature with wide views of life and experience. Professor Vaughan truly said of him that he was not an enthusiast, but a man of many enthusiasms. His zeal was not the violent blaze which soon burns itself out, but a steady flame, kept under firm control, and directed towards beneficent ends. A high moral purpose mingled with all his thoughts and feelings, and made his life rich in achievement and radiant with hopefulness. His enthusiasm was contagious. His face glowed with Celtic fire, and he possessed the supreme gift of inspiring others. His first message to the students of the college was—"Prepare yourselves for great things," and to the end he set before them lofty ideals. He appealed to what was noblest and best in them, and ever sought to kindle their ardour for all that was great and good. He was a man of faith. This was the motive power of his whole career. He believed in education, in its beneficent, uplifting power. He believed in men, and particularly in the people of Wales. He had unbounded confidence

in the possibilities before them. If they had not risen to the level of some of the other peoples of the United Kingdom, it was not for want of natural ability, but for the lack of education. He urged Welshmen to believe in themselves and their destiny. He had faith in the Welsh peasant and the Welsh miner, and never forgot them in his educational schemes. He had faith in the merchants and manufacturers of Wales, and though they did not rally to the aid of education as he expected, still he did not despair of them. He had faith in Corporations and County Councils and public bodies in general, and gave them a large share in the control of higher education. He had faith in the colleges and in the University, and he wished others to share his faith.

Appealing to Welshmen of Liverpool on behalf of Wales he said: "The first condition of success is faith in herself; a real faith, not a faith expressed merely in words, but a living faith issuing in deeds. I believe in the natural genius of the Welsh people, and in their capacity to make their University respected among the universities of the world, and I would say to the public bodies of Wales and to all Welshmen—Have faith in your University; if you have not, none else will; have faith in the wisdom of its governing body, in the efficiency of its colleges, the high standard of its examinations, and the value of its degrees as a testimony to training and attainments. The foundation of your University confers on you a new power; it confers on you also a new responsibility; make your University what it should be, and never err by want of confidence in your power to make it great."

Sir Isambard Owen truly said of him, "He was able to convince and lead others because he so profoundly believed himself." It was this faith which gave him boldness of conception and largeness of view; it also won for him

the confidence of others, and helped him to realise his ideals. It is true that he did not realise all his dreams—who does? Like others, he met with disappointment and discouragement, but his faith was too firmly rooted to be shaken by such things. He was an invincible opportunist, and his opportunism was based on partly faith in human nature, faith in the Universe, faith in God. He is reported to have said: "If it were not for my intense belief in Providence, I would have long ago been overwhelmed by the cares of my public work." He did not make such a public profession of his religious faith as some of his countrymen could have wished, but he remained in fellowship with the Christian Church, and was in full sympathy with the Christian ideals. If he ever found fault with Christians, it was because they did not preach the love of Christ in all its beauty and fulness, and mingled religion unduly with philosophy and speculation. The simplest sermons pleased him the most. He would often slip into a service in a country district, and cheer the minister by words of appreciation and encouragement, but if anyone tried to preach a clever, intellectual sermon for his benefit, he was displeased. As a worshipper he wanted to be on the same level as his humblest brethren. Doubtless he had gone through intellectual struggles in connection with the doctrines of Christianity, but however he may have been troubled about the philosophic forms of religious truth, he had not lost faith in the essence of the Christian faith. He was humble and modest in reference to the great themes of the Universe, and felt that in the speculations of science men were merely guessing at truth, and had to rely finally upon faith. His favourite author was Robert Browning, whose breezy optimism he fully shared. Wales may have produced more eloquent orators and profounder thinkers, more passionate reformers and

heart-stirring patriots, whose names will be held in everlasting remembrance ; but for educational statesmanship and wise diplomacy, for self-sacrificing and persistent efforts in the establishment of great institutions, for loyal and ungrudging services in the realisation of high ideals, no Welshman stands higher than Principal Viriamu Jones, and the coming generations cannot fail to honour the man who manifested such noble qualities at a critical and formative period in the history of the Principality, and took a leading part in the foundation of the National University.

truly yours
Thomas Davis

THOMAS DAVIS.

By J. ARTHUR PRICE, *Barrister-at-Law, London.*

THE inclusion of an Irishman in a volume devoted to Welsh worthies demands an explanation. I am not prepared to justify this apparent anomaly on the ground of precedent, though it is worth mentioning that, years ago, a memoir of Thomas Davis appeared in the series of the "Notable Men of Wales," published in the "*Red Dragon*" Magazine. Nor can I venture to defend the presence of the poet of young Ireland in this volume, for the reason that his father was, in his own words, "a gentleman of Welsh blood." The reason why, as I think, the poet of Young Ireland deserves a place in the gallery of Welsh statesmen is partly, that while his life's work was given to Ireland, yet he loved and understood Wales far better than did most of her political leaders in the nineteenth century; but chiefly because his ideas have affected in no small measure the Welsh National Movement of our own time. The spirit that inspired the daring aspirations of Thomas E. Ellis and his friends, between the years 1886 and 1892, was that of Davis and the "*Nation.*" It undoubtedly is true that since 1895, if not since 1892, Nationalism as a political force in Wales has waned before Sectarianism in the North and Socialism in the South. The Cymru Fydd Movement with its "Young Wales" M.P's, has accomplished its destiny in a somewhat comical anti-climax. Welsh Liberalism is at the moment, absolutely powerless to realise any of the reforms of which Thomas Ellis dreamt. At the ballot

boxes it gains easy victories; in the House of Commons it remains impotent. Writing on the effects of the Reform Acts in Wales, Mr. Owen M. Edwards has recently remarked: "With the exception of the sharp struggle between the tenant and the landlord, after the Reform Act of 1867 the effects of enfranchisement on Wales have been very few. Two Acts alone have been passed as purely Welsh Acts—the Sunday Closing Act and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act. The voice of Wales is weak, even though unanimous."* Nor can one say that the powerlessness of the Welsh Parliamentary Party on Welsh matters, is recompensed by its general services to the cause of freedom in other lands. Individual Welsh Members have no doubt done yeoman service in the cause of oppressed nationalities, but the Welsh Party as a whole is moved by no Nationalist feeling. To Wales no less than to his own country, Thomas Davis carries a lesson to-day. What that lesson is, his life and opinion must show.

The permanent work that Davis accomplished, was the presentation to his own countrymen of the Nationalist ideal, enriched with the flowers of history and poetry. Like the Oxford Tractarians, he was in a sense a child of the romantic school, and like them he was the enemy of the narrow utilitarianism that in his days dominated English politics. Of his political philosophy and his poetry, I shall therefore have much to say. He was *ex necessitate rei* in some measure a practical politician; but of this aspect of his career I shall say little, as it would be impossible to deal with it satisfactorily without entering into an elaborate discussion of the Irish political personalities of the early "forties," which, in a book like this, would be out of place.

* "Short History of Wales," p. 118.

Thomas Davis was born on October 14, 1814, at Mallow, in the county of Cork. His father (who, as has been said, was a gentleman of Welsh blood, but whose family had settled in Buckinghamshire), was in the Royal Artillery, and had served through the Peninsular War with the rank of Inspector of Hospitals. On his mother's side the poet was the descendant of a Cromwellian settler in Ireland. Alike by birth and education he was a stranger to the Irish Catholics whose champion he was to become. "I myself," he wrote, "was brought up High Tory and Episcopalian Protestant and if I am no longer a Tory it is from conviction, for all those nearest and dearest to me are so still."

The first days of his childhood were spent in Mallow, a "garden of traditional and historic romance." But when he was only four years old, his family removed to Dublin; here he went to school, and subsequently, in 1821, entered Trinity College. As a child he is described as reserved and dreamy. His relatives, in after days, when asked for reminiscences, had little to tell save that when children were enjoying themselves in a drawing-room he sat absorbed, and that he shed tears at the airs that an old country fellow would play on his fiddle.

But in his verses he has himself told of the fancies that in those childhood's hours flitted across his soul. He mused on heroes of old like the three hundred Spartans who died at Thermopylæ and the three Romans, who held the bridge against Lars Porsena.

And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A nation once again.

And from that time through wildest woe
That hope has shone a far light,
Nor could love's brightest summer glow
Outshine that solemn starlight.

It seemed to watch above my head
In forum, field and fane,
Its angel voice sang round my bed,
"A nation once again."

In his early days at college he was known only as an omnivorous reader. In fact he was studying the history of his country, and seeking to find in her past the explanation of the present. To those, and there are many, too many, who disparage the teaching of Welsh History and Literature at a Welsh University, the words which this young student spoke in 1840 to the Dublin Historical Society may be commended.

"Men cannot master all knowledge. A knowledge of his own nation and duties, of the growth and prospects of that society in which he dwells, and of the pursuits and tastes of those round about him is what every man should first learn. With rare exceptions national history does dramatic justice to the transactions with which it deals; alien history is the inspiration of a traitor.

"The histories of countries by hostile strangers should be refuted and then forgotten. Such are most Histories of Ireland, and yet Irishmen forget the original documents and compilations like Carey's 'Vindiciæ.' And they sin not by omission only, too many of them receive and propagate on Irish affairs *quicquid Anglia mendax audet in historia.*

"The history of a nation is the birthright of her sons—who strips them of that 'takes that which not enriches him but makes them poor indeed.'"

Davis took his degree in 1836, and in 1837 he was called to the Irish bar. In those days Irish Law students were obliged to keep some terms at the English Inns of Court, and I fancy that on the occasion of one of these trips to London, Davis must have spent some time

in Wales. That he knew Carnarvonshire is proved by a letter that he wrote to a friend who was touring in Wales in 1841. "When you are at Capel Curig go and see a lake between there and Trefriew; there is no road —you must cross the hill"—"Talking of histories as you do in your note, there is a 'History of Conway.' Get it, and the 'History of Wales' and be happy"—"But you have other thoughts calm, unfevered, for, though nestling in the battlements of Carnarvon or striding through the pass of Llanberis, you hear the clash of arms, see men waving banners, and charging knights and struggling mountaineers. Yet 'tis all a pleasant vision not personal, nothing of duty or faith or anxiety in it, fanciful, passionless, and oh! the dark tarn rippling where it rippled or lay still in the time of Glendower or Caractacus in the time of minstrel and bard."

With this letter it is interesting to compare a political essay in which Davis treats both the past and present of Wales.

"We just opened M'Culloch's 'Geographical Dictionary,' to ascertain some Welsh statistics, and found at the name 'Wales' a reference to 'England and Wales,' and, at the latter title, nothing distinct on the Principality; and what was there was rather inferior to the information on Cumberland or most English counties. 'And has time then,' we said, 'mouldered away that obstinate and fiery tribe of Celts which baffled the Plantagenets, which so often trod upon the breastplates of the Norman, which sometimes bent in the summer, but ever rose in the winter, when the fierce elements of winter came to aid the native? Has that race passed away which stood under Llewellyn and rallied under Owen Glendower, and gave the dragon flag and Tudor

kings to England? Is the prophesy of twelve hundred years false—are the people and tongue passed away?

"No, in spite of the massacre of bards and the burning of records—spite of political extinction, there is a million of these Kymrys in Wales and its marches, and nine out of ten of these speak their old tongue, follow their old customs, sing the songs which the sleepers upon Snowdon made, have their religious rites in Kymric, and hate the Logrian as much as ever their fathers did."

Such sentiments show that from his youth Davis was inspired by a patriotic feeling for Wales. Of the political ideal that he offered and still offers to her, I shall speak later.

In 1841 Davis became a member of O'Connell's Repeal Association, the National League of the day, and in taking this step he showed that he had decided on his life's mission. The step was only taken after years of anxious thought and reflection. It is true, as we have seen, that even in his childhood's hours the dream of an independent Ireland had flashed before his eyes, but childish aspirations are seldom strong enough to resist the prejudices of environment and education. Indeed, in his early student days, his companions looked on him rather as a Whig or a Benthamite than a Nationalist. The influence that had converted him to the cause of Nationalism was his study of the history of his country's past. In his lonely student's room he had read her tragic annals, he had contrasted her history with that of more fortunate lands, and he believed that the secret of her misfortunes lay in the jealousy of her stronger neighbour and the racial and sectarian divisions of her own sons. So he convinced himself that the hope of Ireland lay in the union of all her people, whether they were of Celtic or English descent, whether they were of the faith of

Rome, or Canterbury, or Geneva, in a common alliance of which the end should be the rescue of Irish nationality from foreign control. In this spirit he wrote:—

"What matter that at different shrines
We pray unto one God,
What matter that at different times
Our fathers won this sod.
In fortune and in name we're bound
By stronger links than steel,
And neither can be safe nor sound,
But in the other's weal."

Such were the principles of Thomas Davis. What were the motives that animated the party to whom he had given the support of his genius and enthusiasm. At this moment the great political power in Ireland was O'Connell the Liberator. The Liberator had done great things for his country. He had put heart into the peasantry of Ireland. He had carried Roman Catholic Emancipation. He had forced English statesmen to commence the work of Irish Disestablishment by the suppression of certain Irish Sees and the reform of the Tithe Laws. He was, without doubt, a great patriot and a great orator. But he was also a strong Ultramontane, and whether or not he so desired, the result of his Irish leadership has been to identify the idea of Irish Nationalism with that of Roman Catholic supremacy. Again, the Liberator's relations with English Whigs and Liberals were naturally repugnant to whole hearted Nationalists like Davis. Davis had a clear aim, he sought to give to Ireland internal peace and political liberty. O'Connell, doubtless, desired these things also; but he had, also, the Pope and the Irish priesthood, and the English Liberals to consider. In the first place he was a practical politician trained, through no fault of his own, in a bad school. In the second place

he was a Nationalist, but a Nationalist whose patriotism was alloyed by sectarian feeling and whose methods were too often those of a demagogue. It is easy to see how difficult it must have been for a youth like Davis, full of Nationalist idealism and hating any form of sectarian ascendancy, to have followed such a chief as O'Connell. It is remarkable that he should have so easily acquired power over a nation that had for a generation been trained in O'Connellism.

Before he joined the Repeal Association, Davis had already contributed articles to various magazines and had already made his mark as a writer. It was in 1841 that the idea of a new journal, independent alike of Dublin Castle and O'Connell, suggested itself to him and a few of his friends. One of these friends was Gavan Duffy who afterwards played a brilliant part alike in Irish and Colonial politics; another was John Dillon, father of the present Irish leader. In his old age, Duffy told how, in the spring of 1842, the youths thought out their bold scheme.

"I met them (*i.e.*, Davis and Dillon) in the hall of the four courts, and they put off their gowns and walked out with me to Phœnix Park to have a frank talk about Irish affairs. We soon found that our purpose was the same—to raise Ireland morally, socially and politically, and put the sceptre of self-government into her hands. I proposed that we should establish and conduct a weekly paper as organ of the opinions we held in common. Sitting under a noble elm in Kilmainham, we debated the project and agreed on the general plan. I was to find funds and undertake the editorship and we were to recruit contributors among our friends. We separated on an agreement to meet again in summer, and launch the journal in autumn."

The new journal, which was called the "*Nation*," appeared in the October of 1842 and at once became a power. Visionary and dreamy as many of its writings may appear to us to-day, in the Ireland of the "forties" it excited a passionate enthusiasm. Its various numbers passed from hand to hand until they were threadbare. In every provincial town its purchasers exceeded in number the buyers of the local paper. Yet this journal, while fiercely attacking English misgovernment and landlord oppression in Ireland never stooped to demagogic tricks. On the contrary, it told the Irish people many home truths—for instance, that they needed education, discipline and perseverance. Imagine a popular journal in either Wales or Ireland, to-day indulging in straight talks with its supporters! But to us the most interesting fact about the "*Nation*" is that it called forth Davis's poetical gifts. His poem "The Lament for Owen Roe O'Neill," appeared in the sixth number of the journal. His friends were charmed with it, and Davis learned from its success that he possessed the power more useful to a patriot than either arms or law. "I care not," said a great Scotch patriot,—Fletcher of Saltoun,—"who makes the people's laws, if I have with me those who make the people's verses."

Before I quote these lines let me say that at a meeting of the Union of Welsh Literary Societies in London, I heard them recited to a Welsh gathering by Mr. Hugh Law, the Nationalist member for one of the divisions of Donegal, and that they produced a marvellous effect, and the gathering was further moved, when Mr. Law went on to suggest that perchance one of Davis's ancestors had wept in similar verse over the grave of some Welsh chief.

The Owen Roe O'Neill of the poem was the great

Irish leader of the seventeenth century, who died when he was preparing to march with Ormond against Cromwell. It is pleasant to add that the idea that his death was due to poison is now discredited.

"Did they dare, did they dare to slay Owen Roe O'Neill?"
"Yes, they slew with poison him they feared to meet with steel,
May God wither up their hearts! May their blood cease to flow,
May they walk in living death, who poisoned Owen Roe!
Though it break my heart to hear, say again the bitter words,
'From Derry against Cromwell he marched to measure swords.'
But the weapon of Sassenach met him on his way,
And he died at Cloch Uachtar upon St. Leonard's Day."

Then follows the lament for the chief and near the close come these impressive lines.

We thought you would not die—we were sure you would not go,
And leave us in our utmost need to Cromwell's cruel blow,
Sheep without a shepherd when the sun shuts out the sky—
Oh, why did you leave us Owen? Why did you die."

Many other poems followed that on O'Neill in the "*Nation*" under the signature of "The Celt," which Davis adopted to show his mixed Irish and Welsh origin.

The historical ballads—those Davis contributed to the "*Nation*"—cover the whole of Irish history from the days of the mythical kings, who were the contemporaries of Arthur and the Round Table Knights, to the dark years of the 1798 rising, and the fall of the Irish Parliament. With equal enthusiasm and pathos does he sing of the crowning of a native Irish king: "by the waves of Lough Neagh" and the "hights of Strathban," of the Geraldines, and feudal Ireland, of the wild fights of the native Irish against Stuart or Cromwellian tyranny, of the failure of Irish hopes when Limerick yielded to Dutch William, of the mighty deeds done by the exiled Irishmen in the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, and on many another field, and of the momentary triumph of Nationalism in 1782 when:

"The voice of America came over the wave,
Crying: 'Woe to the tyrant and hope to the slave.'"

Would space permit, it would be a pleasant task to give extracts from all these soul-inspiring ballads. I must confine myself however to quoting some verses from the "Geraldines," a poem that has a special interest for Welshmen, seeing that the great champion of Welsh ecclesiastical freedom, Giraldus Cambrensis, was a scion of the Norman house from which the Irish Geraldines sprang.

After mentioning the achievements of Geraldines amid the vineyards of Tuscany and on the sands of Palestine, the poet continues:

"The Geraldines! the Geraldines!—'tis true in Strongbow's van,
By lawless force, as conquerors, their Irish rule began:
And oh! through many a dark campaign they proved their prowess stern,
In Leinster's plains and Munster's vales, on king and chief and kerne
But noble was the cheer within the halls so rudely won,
And generous was the steel-clad hand that had such slaughter done;
How gay their laugh, how proud their mien, you'd ask no herald's sign—
Among a thousand you had known the princely Geraldine.
These Geraldines! these Geraldines! not long our air they breathed;
Not long they fed on venison in Irish waters seethed.
Not often had their children been by Irish mothers nursed,
When from their full and genial hearts an Irish feeling burst!
The English monarchs strove in vain, by law, and force, and bribe,
To win from Irish thought and ways this 'more than Irish tribe;'
For still they cling to fosterage, to brehon cloak and bard;
What king dare say to Geraldine 'your Irish wife discard.'"

The poet dwells thus lovingly on the glories of the Geraldines in the days of chivalry: speaks of the martyrs that their house has given to Irish freedom, of "Silken Thomas," the victim of Henry VIII.'s tyranny, and the good Lord Edward of the 1798 rising. He refuses to think that the great house has for ever broken with Irish Nationalism.

"The forms of centuries rise up and in the Irish line
Command the son to take the post that fits the Geraldine."

Most of these ballads have a political purpose. Some, however, and perhaps the most beautiful of them all, the one that tells of the "Sack of Baltimore" by the Algerine pirates, are purely historic. All Welshmen who desire to understand the meaning of nationalism should read them. As they read, they may regret that we have not a collection of Welsh historical poems of the same kind, that might be learned in school. If such a series of Welsh historical ballads had been written in the "forties," Welsh professors would not now be consulting as to the best means of teaching Welsh history.

Davis's poems in the "*Nation*" were not all historical. He wrote love songs of peasant life, some of which flow as simply and naturally as Burns' lyrics. He also turned out a good deal of verse on the political questions of the hour, among this a song of Wales to the air of "The Men of Harlech."

Some even of my Liberal readers, I fear, may be shocked at some of its sentiments. Let them, however, remember that it was written on the eve of the Rebecca Riots, and at a time when the majority of the Welsh people were denied the Parliamentary franchise, when their language was banned in the school, when the Established Church was far more an anti-national institution than it is to-day, when owing to the turnpike system and economical causes the rural districts in the Principality were simmering with discontent, while some of the Welsh manufacturing towns were hot-beds of Chartism. Not Henry Richard himself could, I venture to think, have expressed more vigorously and tersely the wrongs of Wales.

Once there was a Cymric nation;
Few its men, but high its station—
Freedom is the soul's creation
Not the work of hands.
Coward hearts are self subduing;
Fetters last by slave's renewing,
Edward's castles are in ruins
Still his empire stands.
Still the Saxon malice
Blights our beauteous valleys,
Ours the toil, but his the spoil, and his the laws we writhe in,
Worked like beasts that Saxon priests may riot in our tithing;
Saxon speech and Saxon teachers,
Crush our Cymric tongue;
Tolls our traffic binding,
Rents our vitals grinding.
Bleating sheep, we cower and weep, when by one bold endeavour
We could drive from out our hive these Saxon drones for ever.
"CYMRIC RULE AND CYMRIC RULERS!"
Pass along the word.

Davis's labours for Ireland were not restricted to the columns of the "*Nation*." He took a prominent part in the organisation of the Repeal Association, which in those days was as great a terror to English statesmen as was the Land League in after years. In 1843 the Tory Government endeavoured to crush it by coercion. A packed jury convicted O'Connell, Duffy, and other leading Irishmen of the crime of unlawful assembly: but the verdict was set aside by the House of Lords. Davis now hoped that the great tribune (as O'Connell was called) would revive the national movement. O'Connell hesitated between an alliance with the English Liberal party and a renewal of the Repeal agitation, and his hesitation annoyed logical Nationalists like Davis and his friends. What was even more serious, the Tribune and Davis came into collision over the education question. The point at issue was one that Welshmen may readily understand. The Conservative Government of the day was proposing to establish

university colleges in certain Irish towns, and one question at issue was, whether Catholic and Protestant students should be educated together.

Davis, who felt so keenly the evils that sectarian divisions had wrought in Ireland, naturally welcomed with enthusiasm a system of co-education, which might diminish bigotry and foster national sentiment. The Irish priests, not perhaps unnaturally, favoured the separate education of Protestants and Catholics, and O'Connell repudiating his earlier views not only pledged himself to the priests' view, but sought to impose them on the national party. At a public meeting of the Association, the Tribune and the young patriot came into collision, and Davis more than held his own in the encounter. In the course of his speech occurs this mournful and prophetic sentence.

"Disunion, alas! destroyed our country for centuries. Men of Ireland, shall it destroy it again?"

So it came about that Davis and his friends (who were now known as the "Young Ireland" party) began to drift from constitutional agitation into dreams of armed rebellion against England. At the same time there is every reason to suppose that had England been ready at this time to concede even a very moderate measure of self-government, Davis would have accepted it, and become a loyal subject to the Crown. He recognised as allies those Irishmen, whose patriotic aspirations preferred a modified autonomy to separation or repeal, and in an open letter which, under the signature "Federalist," he addressed to the great Duke of Wellington, he suggested that by such a compromise between Nationalism and Imperialism the legitimate aspirations both of Wales and Ireland might be satisfied. "I do not," he wrote, "seek a raw repeal

of the Act of Union. I want you to retain the Imperial Parliament with its Imperial powers. I ask you only to disencumber it of those cares which exhaust its patience and embarrass its attention. I ask you to give to Ireland a Senate of some sort; selected by the people in part or in whole; levying their Customs and Excise and other taxes; making their roads, harbours, railways, canals and bridges; encouraging their manufactures, commerce, agriculture and fisheries; settling their Poor Laws, their tithes, grand juries, and franchises; giving a vent to ambition, an opportunity for knowledge, restoring the absentees, securing work, and diminishing poverty, crime, ignorance and discontent. This, were I an Englishman, I should ask for England, besides the Imperial Parliament. So I would for Wales, were I a Welshman,* and for Scotland were I a Scotchman: this I ask for Ireland.

"It is not impossible to combine an Irish Legislature for local purposes, with the integrity and foreign importance of the empire. A local Parliament if granted soon, and in a kindly and candid spirit, would be fairly worked."

With the views expressed in this letter it is interesting to compare its writer's proposals for Welsh self-government.

"Twenty-nine Welsh members could do much, if united, more especially if they would co-operate with the Irish and Scotch members in demanding their share of the Imperial expenditure; or, what would be safer and better, in agitating for a Local Council to administer the local affairs of the Principality. A million of the

*As it may strike the casual reader that Davis does not here describe himself as a Welshman, I would point out that the letter is signed with a *nom de plume*.

Kymri, who are still apart in their mountains, who have immense mineral rescources, and some good harbours and are nearly of our blood, nearly of our old and un-English language, have as good a right to a local senate, as the 700,000 people of Greece, or the half million of Cassel or Mecklenburgh have to independence, or as each of the States of America has to a local congress. Localisation by means of Federalism seems the natural and best resource of a country like Wales, to guard its purse and language and character, from Imperial oppression and its soil from foreign invasion. As powers run Wales is not like Ireland quite able, if free, to hold her own; but she has importance enough to entitle her to a Local Congress, for her local affairs."

Nearly fifty years had passed since these words were written, when Tom Ellis declared at Bala, that the ideal of Welsh patriots could only be realised, when they saw in Wales a National Parliament; supreme in all local affairs elected by the manhood and womanhood of Wales, and responsible to them alone.

When Ellis spoke, however, the political tide had turned not only in Great Britain, but in Europe from Nationalism to Imperialism. What, one wonders, might have happened if the Cymru Fydd Movement had come in the days of the Rebecca Riots and the Welsh Chartist disturbances? The seed would not then have fallen on stony ground, and, for better or worse, the future of Wales might have been dramatically changed. At least, we may say, that if ever the idea of local legislatures for England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, subordinate to an Imperial Parliament, in which the Colonies are represented, takes practical shape, Thomas Davis and Thomas Ellis will have triumphed from their graves.

If there be any who are prepared to condemn Davis

for his contemplation of armed rebellion, let them remember that in the Ireland of his day the land system supported by British bayonets had made the Irish peasantry for practical purposes the most wretched and hopeless serfs in Europe, and that the much vaunted Act of Union had proved an unmixed curse to the country. We must also remember that in Davis's time the resources of Great Britain were far less than they are at present, and that the population of Ireland was greater than it is to-day. Considering what wonderful things did happen in Europe in 1848, in the heyday of Nationalist enthusiasm, even a prudent statesman might have thought that an armed rising in Ireland would have had at least an off chance of success. If Davis, in his own words, was willing to sanction "those means of liberation which," in his own words, "heroic freemen from Pelopidas to Washington have sanctioned," it should be remembered that he condemned and abhorred agrarian crimes and violence.

The activities of Davis's brief life were not confined to journalism, poetry and politics. He was a member of several literary academies and societies, and at the time of his death he was preparing a "Life of Wolfe Tone," the chief victim of the 1798 rising. In the very year in which the "*Nation*" appeared, he had published the life and speeches of the great Irish orator Curran. And his short and busy life was not without its romance. He was engaged at the time of his death to a Miss Annie Hutton, of whom he has left us a graceful picture.

"Her eyes are darker than Dunloe,
Her soul is whiter than the snow,
Her tresses like arbutus flow,
Her step like frighted deer."

The love affair had not run altogether smoothly as the

lady's family, who were wealthy, had not altogether appreciated his politics and were naturally nervous as to the future prospects of one who seemed to them to have sacrificed his chances of professional success at the altar of patriotism. They, however, had yielded to her wish to be the "struggling patriot's" bride, when Davis, who had hitherto enjoyed good health, was seized with an attack of cholera. At first no serious results seem to have been apprehended, and the patient appeared to be recovering. Unhappily an imprudent drive, taken while he was still weak, brought on a relapse. Let his friend and biographer, Duffy, tell the rest. "On Tuesday morning, September 15, 1845, I was summoned to his mother's house to behold his dead body. There lay the man whom I loved beyond any on the earth, a pallid corpse. His face still wore the marks of sweet silent strength, and it was hard to believe that I should never more feel his cordial grasping hand. He had grown rapidly worse during the night, but was confident of recovery until almost the end, and spoke impatiently of interrupted work."

They laid him in a grave at Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin. Irishmen of all parties joined in raising a monument to his memory, and the poets of Young Ireland sang his elegy.

Like the betrothed bride of another Irish hero, of whom Moore has sung, the girl to whom Davis was betrothed faded away from the moment of his death and sank to an early grave. Yet ere she died she wrote of him. "What pride, what glory to have been the chosen one of such a heart. Oh, if I were to live through an eternity of grief, I would not give up that short moment of happiness, that little time of communion with all that was most pure, most holy on earth."

"Those whom the gods love die young." Thomas Davis, like Falkland, was taken away from the evil to come, for he was spared the agony that he would have felt at the failure of the 1848 rising, and the horrors of the Irish famine. Literature and political philosophy in a sense suffered greatly from his early death at the age of thirty-one years. Yet the very tragedy of his early grave has, perhaps, made him a more potent teacher than if he had lived another fifty years.

History will, as the years grow on, recognise more and more that he was the greatest Celtic Nationalist of the nineteenth century. Putting aside all class, all sectarian, all personal feeling, he looked alike at Ireland and Wales, and strove, as Matthew Arnold would say, to "see them steadily and see them whole," in view, alike of their historic past and their present needs. And because of his patient study and unselfish devotion he has exercised over the generations that have come after him, a power denied to more selfish and successful men. He has thrown around Irish Nationalism a poetry and a romance which even the crimes and follies of less worthy and less single-minded leaders cannot dissipate. More; whatever passionate enthusiasm Welsh Nationalism inspires to-day springs, in no small measure, from the power that Davis, through his writings, has wielded over Welsh patriots like Tom Ellis. But probably Davis's influence of Wales will be greater in the future than it has been in the past. We, in our time have seen the rise and the disappearance of a "Young Wales Party" that mouthed some of Davis's sentences; but never caught his spirit. This Young Wales group produced able men; but men who could hardly raise themselves above a sectarian or party view of Wales. So they have naturally become lost in an English political party, while Wales, forgetful

of Tom Ellis's national ideal, is again plunged into an unedifying sectarian wrangle. But it cannot be that for ever Welsh Nationalism on its political side shall remain the stale joke of the St. David's Day dinner. The spirit that inspired Tom Ellis's demand at Bala for the political recognition of Welsh Nationalism still lives, and it will move Wales when Wales has politicians and men of letters, who will bring to the service of their country the chivalry and unselfishness of Thomas Davis.*

* The chief authority for Davis's life is in his biography, by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, published in London, 1890 (Kegan Paul). My quotations from his writings are taken from his "Poems," and "Literary and Historical Essays," both published in Dublin in 1846.

Photo. by] [*Elliot & Fry.*

THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P

THOMAS E. ELLIS, M.P.

By J. ARTHUR PRICE, *Barrister-at-Law, London.*

I MUST commence my sketch of Ellis with an apology to my readers. Though for some years I saw much of him, there are many persons living in Wales who knew him far better than I ever did. I never met him until he was an Oxford undergraduate, and my acquaintance with him at the University was of a very slight character. It is true that I saw a good deal of him in his earlier political days, but my meetings with him after he accepted office in 1892 were comparatively rare. Again, I have no first-hand knowledge of the great work that he did on Welsh educational bodies; and the numerous Welshmen, who regard the deceased statesman primarily as a great educationalist, will find little of interest in my pages.

These being the facts, my readers may naturally ask, as to why I undertook to write of him at all. My reply is that at one time I was in some measure the confidant of his political and nationalist hopes and aspirations. If I knew nothing of the boy, Tom Ellis, if my acquaintance with Ellis, the educationalist and Ministerial Whip, was not intimate, yet I may say that I knew pretty well that Ellis, whom the Welsh youth of the later "eighties" named the "Parnell of Wales."

Now, not only do I feel that Ellis as a Welsh Nationalist statesman is an infinitely more interesting personality than Ellis the Ministerial Whip, or Ellis the part-founder of the Welsh University, but I also am afraid, that it is this Ellis, whom Wales and the world are tending to forget.

More than three years ago Mr. John Morley went to Bala to deliver the formal oration at the unveiling of the statue which Wales has raised to Ellis's memory.

The speech of the veteran statesman and man of letters was in its way an impressive pronouncement. The *debita lacrima* was duly shed over the warm ashes of the departed friend. The services of the Ministerial Whip to his party were duly appraised by the Cabinet Minister. Wales and Welsh Liberalism were patronised in the correct manner. Yet, to put it plainly, the oration bore a close resemblance (if I may apply a hackneyed simile) to a performance of the play of "Hamlet," from which the Prince of Denmark and his speeches were omitted. No one would ever have dreamed from reading Mr. Morley's words, that he was speaking of a Welshman, who for some years had stood before his countrymen as the preacher of the most startling political gospel, that they had heard since the days of Owen Glyndwr.

Mr. Morley's silence on this occasion is remarkable, and I think would have surprised Ellis himself. For, as he often told me, Ellis considered Mr. Morley a sympathiser with all Nationalist enthusiasms. For the present I merely refer to the matter to show what a danger there is of the best and noblest side of Ellis's public career falling into oblivion. Those who talk of him now dwell chiefly on the fact, that the son of a small tenant farmer in Merionethshire by his ability and industry entered the House of Commons before he was thirty, and attained Ministerial rank before he was forty, and for this reason hold him out as an example to the Welsh youth. Now I freely allow that Ellis's personal achievements deserve recognition, but I still think that they are the smallest part of him. Many politicians who have been infinitely more successful deserve from posterity naught but hatred and contempt. Ellis deserves the grateful memory of Wales, because he loved her, and

because he served her, and because he loved liberty in every land. So it is of Ellis the patriot, the Nationalist leader, and the friend of liberty that I propose to write.

The birthplace of Thomas Edward Ellis was Cynlas Llanddervel in East Merioneth. This district, which lies in the Diocese of St. Asaph and formed part of the old Principality of Powis, has been famous in the annals of Welsh history and theology. At Corwen, no great distance from Tom Ellis's home, in days of yore, Owen Glyndwr raised the Red Dragon standard, as a sign that the war had begun, that almost made Wales an independent nation. At Bala, on the other side of Cynlas Farm, nearly four centuries after Glyndwr had been laid to rest, Thomas Charles and his friends met in the synod that turned Welsh Calvinistic Methodism from an association into a Church. This, too, is the land of the noblest of Welsh Lakes and of the mountain Arran, of which Spenser has sung. Roman, Norman, Ironside, Capitalist, they have all come to these mountain defiles, and freedom (it has been said) has there raised champions against them all. Llanddervel, too, has its special historical interest. Here stood in pre-Reformation days, the image of Derfal Gadarn, the mysterious saint, which Welshmen of the district for many a century adored, and which bluff King Hal burnt together with Friar Forest.

More than three hundred years had passed since Derfel Gadarn passed from Llanddervel, when, on February 16, 1859, Tom Ellis first opened his eyes on the hills of Merioneth, but, though in a different way, Llanddervel's interests were then, as of yore, chiefly religious. Both Ellis's father and mother were Merionethshire folk they had both been born within three miles of Bala, and both only spoke Welsh. Naturally they were both

Calvinistic Methodists, and old Ellis, of course, was a chapel deacon. In Cynlas Farm there was a good Welsh theological library which, in his youthful days, Ellis read through. There were there, I fear, few books of poetry or general literature. Indeed the character of the home life was strictly Puritanical, and fairy tales were not told in the evenings. Yet for Ellis and his four sisters it was a happy home, and in later days, when he had travelled in many a foreign land, Ellis often said that there was no better training for youth than in the small mountain farms of Wales. "There is not in them," he observed in the greatest of all his speeches, "any more than in the national life of Wales much stormy romance, but there is silent endurance, hospitality, piety. Every lover of Celtic Wales should do his best to have them multiplied." On another occasion Ellis was sitting at his club among a party of men who were discussing the great cathedrals and churches of the Continent. "I have seen many of them," said the Welsh statesman, "but I think I like my little chapel at home on the hillside best."

Like many Welsh people Ellis's parents thought education next thing to godliness. There were in these days no Board or provided schools, and young Ellis had to walk several miles to the British School at Bala. Subsequently he was a pupil at Bala Grammar School. I have asked the friends who knew him in those days if young Tom showed any signs of genius. To my surprise I have been told that he did not; but, it was added, that he did strike all who knew him as a remarkably plodding child. It was less surprising for me to hear that in his youthful days Ellis displayed no special oratorical gifts. "He would speak," one of his friends told me, "at competitive meetings, but others spoke there better. Still he persevered." The truth is that although Ellis became in his

later years a powerful and interesting speaker, he was not, like his friend, Mr. Lloyd George, a great orator. Similarly with sports; of course he learned to ride and he was, I have been told, a fair cricketer; still he hardly won distinction as an athlete. However, everyone liked the fair-haired, blue-eyed boy of Cynlas, who from his early childhood made friendships that endured for his life. From the first he impressed those who knew him, alike by his liveliness and good sense. And he was fortunate in the friends of his youth, for among them were three lads to whom the Wales of the future was to owe a heavy debt of gratitude. When Ellis was a boy at Cynlas there was growing up in the next farm, another boy, D. R. Daniel, in after days to be one of the most interesting thinkers and politicians of the Young Wales party, for he has been a labour leader in one of the greatest industrial conflicts of our time, and remains an idealist. And there lived then, near Bala, two other boys, also Tom Ellis's friends, whom it is enough to name, Owen M. Edwards, the future historian of Wales, and Puleston Jones, then the blind boy, to-day the blind preacher and theologian. It was only natural, for reasons that must soon be mentioned, that the youths in the Bala district should have become keen politicians at ages when most English boys think only of cricket scores. And when he was fifteen or sixteen Ellis was a Liberal politician, who followed the debates in the House and denounced Disraeli's Eastern policy. But though a Liberal, Ellis was not as yet a Nationalist, at least in the political sense. In his youth the statesman who in after years was to prove himself the stoutest friend that Ireland ever had in Wales, was a strong denouncer of Parnellism. I do not suppose that in his boyhood he ever dreamed of Home Rule for Wales. The words Welsh Home Rule in the "sixties" would have sounded an eccentric dream even

in Welsh Wales. Now the Welsh farming class has, in truth, many virtues. Where religion is concerned it can even be romantic. Still its general view of life, if not prosaic, is at least practical. It appreciates learning and success; it likes smartness, but carries its dislike of eccentricity so far as not to be over sympathetic with youthful originality. A Welsh village would hardly turn out a Mazzini, and it was not the influence of Llanddervel that made Ellis a Welsh Home Ruler.

I have already said something of the religious side of Ellis's boyhood. As he was growing into manhood he impressed his friends as a deeply religious youth, and it was assumed that he would become a Methodist preacher. This was the career that both his parents had marked out for him, and that his mother especially desired him to adopt. He thought at this time of becoming a student at Bala College; but ultimately it was decided that he should go to Aberystwyth and Aberystwyth College he entered in January, 1875.

Alas! the youth carried to Aberystwyth College other recollections than those of a pleasant and peaceful country side, of a religious home, of agreeable and interesting friends. He bore there also, bitter remembrances of the oppressive *régime* of the agrarian system against which Wales had already begun to revolt. In the year of Ellis's birth four of his uncles and relatives had been evicted from their farms for refusing to vote for the Tory candidate for the county. And in Ellis's boyhood his father narrowly escaped eviction from his farm because a dog of his, when in charge of a servant, happened to chase a hare. As it was, old Ellis had to have his two dogs shot, and to pay an additional rent of £10 a year. Doubtless, the owner of the estate himself knew nothing of this last-mentioned act of tyranny. Still, such an act of

petty oppression was the logical result of a land system that could only work satisfactorily where landlords and tenants were not divided, as unhappily they were in Wales, by language, politics and religion. And Ellis felt keenly the demoralising effect of a *régime* that degraded freemen in some way, at least, to the level of mediæval serfs. Years afterwards, he wrote to a friend who had complained of the timidity displayed by the Welsh tenants in giving evidence before the Land Commission: "Your views as to Welsh farmers are unnecessarily pessimistic. They are the creatures of their cruel and precarious circumstances. To denounce them as selfish and craven is not statesmanship. To leave no stone unturned, to help them out of a position which stunts and unmans them is every Welshman's duty." A few years before Ellis went to Aberystwyth, Merioneth and Cardiganshire had returned Liberal candidates, a sign that the political domination of the Welsh landlord class, which had lasted since the Restoration, was crumbling before the Nonconformist democracy.

At Aberystwyth Ellis met many Welshmen who were afterwards distinguished, among them J. E. Lloyd, now registrar of Bangor College; Mr. Samuel Evans, and that close friend of his after years, Mr. Ellis J. Griffith. At college his witty talk and pleasant manners made him a general favourite, and when he successfully matriculated at the London University, the students requested Principal Edwards for a holiday to celebrate the event, a request willingly granted, for the Principal always thought highly of "Tom." Oddly enough Ellis, though always ready to talk privately on politics, especially on the land and education questions, was not a frequent speaker in the debating society. He was, however, the editor of a brilliant little illustrated college newspaper, known as the

"*Cap.*" In after days Ellis said that Aberystwyth had done more for him than even Oxford. It strengthened his Liberalism, it brought him into touch with clever Welshmen from all parts of the Principality, and it increased his interest in Welsh literature and history.

From Aberystwyth Ellis passed to the University of Oxford, and added another illustrious name to the many distinguished *alumni* of New College. Space, alas! will not permit me to speak of the young Oxford of Ellis's day. In this aristocratic and intellectual college, his amiable character and pleasant manners won him many friends. He was now as ever a strong politician, and he had the honour of being elected to the Palmerston, the most select of the University Liberal Clubs. At the Union he frequently spoke and eventually obtained a seat on its Committee. One speech that he made there, I can well remember. Lord Robert Cecil (now K.C. and M.P. for Marylebone) had been arguing for a resolution, that proposed the abolition of representative institutions. Practically the noble lord's oration had been a plea for the sole government of the country by the House of Lords. When the speaker had finished, Ellis rose to reply. His Welsh accent was far more pronounced then than it was in after days, but he almost immediately brought "the House" to his side by the caustic observation that the great objection to the Divine right, aristocratic sort of constitutions, that the preceding speaker admired was that they generally ended in such unpleasant catastrophes as the cutting off of king's heads. Then he proceeded to discuss the practical workings of the House of Lords, dwelt on its opposition to the people's will, and proved that even in the drafting of non-contentious bills, it was not particularly successful. It was the speech of an ordinary English Radical. Not a word was said that showed the

speaker to be in any sense a Nationalist. However, one undergraduate who heard it, expressed the view that Ellis would probably live to be M.P. for Merioneth.

At Oxford Ellis worked hard for the schools; but he found plenty of time for miscellaneous reading, his favourite English authors being George Eliot and Matthew Arnold. Some of his friends, I believe, consider that Matthew Arnold's writings had a considerable influence in moulding his views, but I think that their influence has been exaggerated. Whatever his faults or mistakes may have been Ellis as a politician never displayed the "amiable hesitancy" that in political affairs has generally marked the Falklands and other heroes of the philosopher of "sweetness and light." He found in those student days more congenial guides in two of the great apostles of the Nationalist awakening of the "forties." "For many years," he wrote in a letter read at a literary meeting in 1890, "my two teachers on politics and nationalism have been Joseph Mazzini and Thomas Davis. Let the members of your society study their lives and writings."* Mazzini and Thomas Davis carried the young thinker into a world very different from that in which he had formerly lived. They brought before his mind the idea of a nationalism for which men might live and die. And as he read, the somewhat sordid struggle in his own Wales between landlord and tenant, church and chapel, was illuminated with the colours of a romance almost as brilliant as that which had inspired the soldiers of "Young Italy," and the poets of "Young Ireland." The struggle in his own

* The latter was in Welsh and the words were "Er ys blynddau lawer, fy nau athraw gwleidyddol a chenedlaethol ydynt Joseph Mazzini a Thomas Davis. Bydded i holl aelodau eich cymdeithas astudio bywyd ac ysgrifeniadau y ddau."

land now meant for him the rising of a nation against alien laws and foreign domination. Henceforth, he was a political Nationalist. Davis and Mazzini had made him the greatest patriot that Wales had known since the days of Owen Glyndwr. In these days, however, Ellis was interested in practical as well as philosophical politics. He was already studying the educational question, and he was fortunate in making friends of men like Professor (now Sir John) Rhys and Mr. Arthur Acland.

He took honours in Classical Moderations (1882) and a second class in the Modern History school (1884). That he did not take a first class was to him a considerable disappointment. He had read hard, and his remarkable historical knowledge always impressed his friends.

It was now time for him to decide on a profession. He had for some time given up the idea of entering the ministry, and had decided on journalism and politics as the work of his life. For a few months he held a private tutorship in a Cardiff family, and then had the good fortune to secure the post of private secretary to Mr. (now Sir John) Brunner, M.P. For the rest of his life Ellis found in Sir John Brunner a staunch and true friend. It once struck me as surprising that so matter of fact a Radical as the M.P. for the Northwich Division of Cheshire and a philosophical student of politics like Ellis should have worked so well together. Ellis gave me the explanation. "Mr. Brunner," he said, "is a Swiss; so of course he understands Nationalism." Ellis for many years resided with the Brunner family in London and at their Cheshire residence, and frequently went abroad with them.

It is interesting to add that from the first the young secretary made a distinctly favourable impression on all Mr. Brunner's friends. A lady who met him at this period tells me that he struck her "as a quiet,

gentlemanly young man, reserved and intensely Welsh in heart and manner."

During these days Ellis did a considerable amount of journalistic work. Shortly after he left Oxford he commenced to write a weekly letter for the "*South Wales Daily News*" under the *non de plume* "Cuneglas." He also contributed to the London dailies, to the "*Liverpool Mercury*" and other newspapers. On Welsh questions he was a powerful writer; but he once remarked to me that he thought the power to write articles quickly passed from a man after he turned thirty. In 1885 came the General Election, and Ellis won his spurs, doing yeoman service for the Liberal cause in Merioneth. The election there was critical for Liberalism as, in addition to the Conservative and Liberal champions, there was an independent candidate in the field. The Liberal cause triumphed in the person of Mr. Robertson, and Merioneth discovered the political abilities of Tom Ellis.

In 1886 came a critical hour for Wales. Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill had been rejected by the House of Commons. The Liberal Party was divided, and the Liberal M.P. for Merioneth, who had voted with the Unionists showed considerable wisdom in refusing again to contest the constituency. It was then that Ellis received an invitation to allow his name to be submitted to the Liberal Association of the county.

The invitation came about in the following way. The Liberal Association of the county was met at Dolgelley to discuss the selection of a Liberal and Home Rule candidate. Several names were mentioned and a strong party urged the adoption of Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Q.C., who had fought the preceding election as an independent candidate, and who had a strong backing in Festiniog. Then a delegate from Llanuwchllyn, the Rev. Gwynoro Davies, an old

college friend of Ellis, suggested his name. The first reception was not favourable. However, some of the delegates met together the same evening at Bala and discussed the matter further. They came to the conclusion that if the sum for the Returning Officer's expenses could be arranged Ellis's candidature would be practicable. So that evening a telegram went to Ellis "Can you find £200 or £300 for election expenses." The reply was favourable, and shortly after young Ellis and Mr. Morgan Lloyd appeared before the Liberal Association. Ellis commenced his speech in Welsh and was favourably heard. Then Morgan Lloyd was summoned. He commenced in English, but a shout "Cymraeg" obliged him to deliver his address in a language that he had half forgotten. Had the delegates been free to vote. Ellis would doubtless have had a large majority on the first vote. Many of them, however, were pledged by their district associations to Morgan Lloyd. In the end Ellis was selected by a few votes. He owed this majority to the Penrhyndeudraeth delegates who had come to the meeting unpledged. Subsequently the Association adopted him as candidate by a large majority, and Morgan Lloyd did not venture again to tempt the suffrages of the electors. However, a Tory candidate, a member of an old historical family, Mr. J. Vaughan, of Nannau, appeared and secured the tacit support of Morgan Lloyd's friends.

The contest was a spirited one, and for the first time for many a century a Merionethshire candidate conducted his campaign in the native language. In the end Ellis was returned by 4,127 votes as against 2,860 polled by Mr. Vaughan. It was believed at the time that 600 votes on the Tory poll were given by Festiniog Radicals, who in after days were among Ellis's staunchest

supporters, but who then believed in the Radicalism of Mr. Morgan Lloyd, a gentleman who at the next General Election appeared as the Unionist candidate for Anglesea. The success of the farmer's son of Cynlas created much enthusiasm, and his expenses were raised by public subscription. Ellis fought successfully two more contested elections in 1892 and 1895, the figures being :—

		1892.		
T. E. Ellis	...	...	...	5,175
H. Owen	...	...	...	1,937
		1895.		
T. E. Ellis	...	...	...	5,173
C. E. J. Owen		...	...	2,232

So far I have traced Ellis's career from the cradle to the Commons, and I have done so because I have been anxious to show the influences that affected his career. When he entered the House, however, his views were formed and, as I am here concerned chiefly with his opinions, I propose now to explain his views on the questions that most deeply interested him.

The first years of Ellis's Parliamentary life were days in which the Irish Question loomed larger than usual on the public gaze. The position of Wales at this time was indeed remarkable. Every argument that could appeal to racial animosity or religious prejudice had been used to attract her support to the Unionist side. And, more than this, Mr. Chamberlain, who at this time was regarded as the great political leader of Nonconformity, had made a special appeal to Welshmen, praying them to stand by him and promising to support their claims to Disestablishment. In spite of it all, Wales had given to the cause of Home Rule a larger majority in proportion to its population than Ireland herself gave. In the marvellous Home Rule triumph in Wales Ellis saw not only a decisive victory for genuine Liberalism over prejudice

and bigotry, but the fairest promise of the liberation of Wales herself from her ecclesiastical and agrarian grievances. "Wales," he said, "had seen the wreckers' lights and shunned them;" in a great crisis she had rejected the appeals of intolerance and passion, and had declared for the liberty of a sister Celtic people and by this act she had placed on unassailable foundations her claim for the recognition of her own national rights. The predominant partner, however, had returned a decisive majority in favour of Unionism, and ere long agrarian difficulties brought half-hearted measures of redress and whole-hearted measures of coercion on the Parliamentary *tapis*. Against the policy of coercion initiated by Mr. Balfour, as Irish Chief Secretary, Ellis offered a vehement protest, all the more effective because he understood its true meaning. He was present at Mitchelstown on September 9, 1887, and witnessed the terrible scene when the police fired on the mob. If his gentle nature detested any sort of person, I should say that it was the Irish emergency man, and severely did he denounce a Welsh clergyman who was said to have brought over this human reptile (as Ellis would have called him) to aid in the collection of his tithes. Throughout the whole of his political career Ellis's faith in Irish Home Rule was never shaken.

On the Welsh Church question Ellis felt strongly. Living as he did in the neighbourhood of Bala, he had realised the effects of the misdoings in a past age of the English bishops and Anglicised clergy in Wales, perhaps more strongly than did even the average Welsh Nonconformist of his time. A farmer's son, he had felt the injustice of the Tithe system, a system which makes the support of a denomination against which the Welsh peasantry has revolted, the first charge on the soil which it tills.

On the other hand, if he realised the weakness of Anglicanism, he also perceived its strength. When he was at Oxford, he regularly worshipped in New College Chapel, and in after days he said that he had there learned to appreciate the liturgical beauties of the Anglican Prayer Book and the sense of historic continuity that pervades the Established Church. He felt, however, that alike in its polity and its dependence on England, the Establishment was in Wales an anachronism and an anomaly. The Welsh people, he would observe, had become democratic; but the Established Church in Wales remained feudal. The Sovereign appointed the bishops; the bishop or the private patron nominated the rectors or vicars; the people had no say in the matter. It was impossible, he would insist, that a feudal Church could ever appeal to the sympathies of a democratic people like the Welsh. And he also condemned its connection with the English State. It is, he would say, interesting to note that, while the Welsh clergy and Irish Roman Catholic priesthood both in the main come from the farming class, the former has no political influence with the Welsh people, while the latter directs Irish politics. May not the explanation be found in the fact that the Irish priesthood is at least free from English influence, while the Welsh clergy are dependent on the English State? Politically Ellis was perfectly loyal to the British Crown and the British Empire; at the same time he believed that in religious matters Wales could stand alone. A churchman once observed to him that such arguments would tell as much against Wesleyanism as against Anglicanism, and his reply was, "You have just mentioned the one Nonconformist denomination, that does not do particularly well in Wales." I entertain grave doubts whether he would have approved of the close connection between Welsh and English Nonconformity

that the Free Church Councils have established. In a word, his position on the question of Welsh Disestablishment and Disendowment may be summed up as follows. He believed that the question was one for the Welsh people to decide even on Anglican principles. If the English people were justified in repudiating Rome, the Welsh people might with equal justice throw off the yoke of Canterbury. The Tithe he regarded as a first charge on the land, and believed that it should be applied for national purposes. He was, however, quite willing for the Church to retain the ecclesiastical fabrics, and he thought also that if after disestablishment she would remodel her constitution on national lines, she might have a great future. "There is quite enough room in Wales," he once said to me, "for another denomination besides the existing Nonconformist bodies," and he added that he thought the Establishment gone. "Welshmen, who liked a quiet religion, would tend to become churchmen."

The Welsh land question interested him more deeply than even that of the Establishment. He was, as I have said, an enthusiastic believer in small farms. The life of the mountain side and the glen was the life which he wished to foster. He believed that the Welsh peasant homestead was threatened by the tendency to convert small farms into large holdings, by the modern system of game preservation, by the raising of rents on tenants' improvements, and by the political and religious differences that had destroyed the friendly relations that once subsisted between the aristocracy and peasantry of Wales. He believed that the Welsh tenant farmers required fixity of tenure and the protection of a Land Court. His view was that eventually the system of large estates should be replaced by a communal ownership of the land, or a peasant proprietorship, and of these two systems he

would have preferred the latter. He did much to bring the question of the Welsh agricultural class before the House of Commons, and to his efforts Wales owes both the inquiry by a Royal Commissioner into the condition of the Welsh agricultural labourer and the appointment of the Land Commission.

And now I come to his views on Welsh education. They may be summed up in the words: "Equality of opportunities for all boys and girls in Wales." He desired a system leading from the Lower Grade to the Intermediate School, from the Intermediate School to the University. To his efforts was largely due the passing of the Intermediate Education Act. In a pamphlet written in conjunction with his friend, Mr. Ellis J. Griffith, he explained its meaning and, aided by Mr. Acland, did yeoman's service in the preparation of the scheme on which the county schools were constituted. He may also be justly regarded as one of the founders of the Welsh University. Two things, however, he desired in Welsh education that have hardly been achieved. He felt keenly on technical instruction. It was as necessary, he would say, to train the eye and hand as to educate the mind. He also wished to give to Welsh education an imaginative and nationalist side. "I would like to see in all Welsh schools," he said, "pictures of Dewi preaching on the Cardigan hills and Howel Dda amid his wise men proclaiming the laws of independent Wales." He regretted, I may add, the curious absence of historical monuments in Wales, and vainly pressed on his countrymen the duty of commemorating in marble, the chivalrous and unfortunate Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. He was also interested in economic questions. To him was due the public inquiry into Welsh charities. He also pleaded warmly but vainly

for a proper administration of the Welsh Crown lands.

If Ellis was a good Welsh and Irish Nationalist, he was also a good European. He sympathised with freedom in every land; but the foreign lands, that he most admired, were the small autonomous states like Finland and the Tyrol. In these countries, he would observe, education is more general, and peasant life is happier and safer than in great communities. He desired to place Wales in the same position in the British Imperial system that the Tyrol holds in the Austrian.

Ellis's connection with South African politics was slight and, in fact, he died before the South African War broke out. In view of a criticism passed on him after his death, it is advisable however, to treat the subject at some length. Ellis visited the Cape in 1890 and there made the acquaintance of Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony. At that time Rhodes was distinctly popular with English Liberals, owing to his professed sympathy with the Home Rule cause. Indeed, the view that the "Colossus" then advocated, viz.: Home Rule for every portion of the Empire with an Imperial Parliament representing not only the Mother Country, but also the Colonies, was identical with the political theory to which Ellis himself inclined. It was natural, therefore, that he and Rhodes should have ideas in common, and certainly Rhodes and the members of his Government treated the rising young Welsh politician with great courtesy. It is significant, however, that Ellis's mind even in South Africa seems to have dwelt rather on the grievances of the native races, than on capitalist schemes and Imperial aggrandisement. When he returned to England he did, it is true, intervene in a Parliamentary debate on South Africa, but it was to plead for justice to the Zulus, and he strongly urged that the government of their country

should be placed under the rule of the sons of that old enemy of England, Cetawayo, as Civil Servants of the Crown. Many years after this, when England was scandalised by the news of the Jamieson Raid, Ellis was staying in the house of a Merionethshire friend. One morning a cablegram bearing a South African post-mark was handed to him. He read it, and exclaimed bitterly: "What do they take me for?" The message, he explained, was from a gentleman in South Africa, who had had the impertinence to ask him to support the raiders. He was subsequently interviewed by the "*Western Mail*" on the subject, and his condemnation of the Raid remains on record. In spite of these facts, a journal of the high character of the "*Spectator*" insinuated, after Ellis's death, that an explanation of the failure of the Raid Committee might be found in the financial connections of some members of the Liberal Party with Rhodes, and drew attention to the fact that Ellis held some shares in the Chartered Company. Ellis's words condemning the Raid are sufficient to show that, so far as he was concerned, the innuendo was both cruel and unjustifiable. Ellis, of course, did not live to see the outbreak of the South African War; had he lived through it, I cannot doubt but that he would have stood with Mr. Lloyd George, Judge Bryn Roberts and others of his countrymen in their historical protest for justice, freedom, and nationalism against Imperialistic fanaticism and capitalist greed. It would, however, have deeply grieved him to see the two living Liberal statesmen whom he specially admired. —Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey—identify themselves in this crisis with the foes of liberty.

In days when female suffrage is one of the questions of the hour, it is important to remember that Ellis was its whole-hearted supporter. Indeed, in all political and

educational matters he asked no rights for men that he did not also ask for women, and in view of the unsportsmanlike opposition recently offered to a Woman's Suffrage Bill, it may be well to state that on one occasion, when a measure of a similar character was blocked or talked out, he remarked to me that the action of the M.P.'s responsible for this could only be described by the adjective "caddish."

I have spoken at length on Ellis's views on the political subjects that chiefly interested him. On domestic questions generally his views were those of a philosophical Radical.

Such were Ellis's principles. No sooner was he elected than he advocated them with vigour both in Wales, and in the House of Commons. It must be remembered that the early days of his career were singularly favourable for the promulgation of the Nationalist gospel. The situation in Ireland, where Mr. Balfour's coercion policy was in full swing, afforded a magnificent object lesson. But at this time Wales herself was in a serious condition. The economic pressure of bad times had converted the long smouldering discontent of Welsh Wales against the Established Church, into the organised protest of the Tithe war. And the agitation was vigorously supported by the late Mr. Thomas Gee and other Welsh journalists. It would be wrong to defend all the incidents of these days of stress. Unquestionably there were some things done and many things said in the agitation that are indefensible. Ellis, however, was quick to point the moral. It was a proof of the deep dissatisfaction that an alien Ecclesiastical system had caused, when a peaceful and law-abiding country was stirred up to resistance to the law. And when the agitation began to extend to the land system, he showed how unjustly the English land

laws pressed on the tillers of the Welsh soil. But Wales, he reminded his hearers, had endured worse troubles in the past. It was a hard day for the Welsh people when they had to build the castles of Carnarvon and Harlech for their Norman oppressors. But as Welsh Nationalism had survived the tyranny of yore, so it would survive the injustice of the present. These speeches created a great sensation in Wales. Everywhere throughout the Principality Ellis's name became a household word, and in different constituencies political associations were on the look out for other children of the people, who might aid Ellis in his patriotic struggle. So sprang into existence the Young Wales political party, of which even the men who composed it, would to-day seem to have forgotten the existence.

In the House of Commons, from the hour that he entered it, Ellis carried on an equally determined battle for the rights of Wales. He lost no opportunity of raising the Tithe or Land and Educational questions. He soon caught the ear of the House, and he always struck the listener as an impressive and interesting speaker. Occasionally, as in his opposition to the Tithe Bill, and in his speeches on the Clergy Discipline Bill, he carried partisanship too far. Still he was as popular in the House as he had been at Oxford, and Unionist members with an antiquarian turn of mind like the late Jasper More, enjoyed a friendly chat with the young Welsh Radical, who manifested so surprising an interest in ancient manor rolls and Tudor enclosures of common lands.

Certainly Ellis interested the House of Commons in Wales to an extent that no Welsh Member has done since his time. And on one matter of a non-party character he did succeed in partially converting even the

Tories, namely the permissive use of the Welsh language in the Welsh schools.

The establishment of County Councils by the Local Government Act of 1888 revolutionised local government in the Principality. Ellis in an able pamphlet, urged that the elections to the new councils should be fought on party lines. His advice was taken with the result that for nearly twenty years county government in Wales has reflected the views of the native population.

At the close of 1889, when Ellis's name was already a household word in Welsh Wales, the news came that he was lying dangerously ill in Egypt.

Grave fears were entertained for the issue, and Ellis remained on a sick bed for several months, weighed down by pain and fever. Alas! eventual recovery left his constitution seriously impaired. Henceforth he was more than ever endeared to his countrymen. Welshmen everywhere considered how best to honour him. He had always been popular among the London Welsh and had been a well-known figure at chapels and literary societies. In London he was entertained at a banquet held at the National Liberal Club at which Mr. John Morley presided. A movement was set on foot for a national testimonial, and on September 18, 1890, he received at Bala a gift of £1,000 with two addresses, one from the National Society of Manchester and the other from the committee of subscribers. The occasion was historic, for in acknowledging his gratitude, Ellis set forth alike the evangel and the philosophy of Welsh Nationalism. The oration was a clarion call to Welsh patriotism. In the speaker's mind the great current of the time was sweeping to Nationalism. Wales, in throwing in her lot with Ireland in the Home Rule struggle, had struck a blow, not only for the national rights of another Celtic country, but also

for her own. Under the inspiration of the new spirit she had awakened to a new life, of which the meaning was shown alike in the Tithe war, in the Land struggle, in the Educational movement, in the State recognition of the Welsh language, in the new interest in Welsh literature. "But," added the orator, in words which seem to me to constitute his political testament to his country, "over and above all we shall work for a Legislature elected by the manhood and womanhood of Wales and to them responsible. It will be the symbol and cementer of our unity as a nation, our instrument in working out social ideals and industrial welfare, the pledge of our heritage in the British Empire, the deliverer of our message and example to humanity, the rallying point of our nationality and fulfiller of our hopes as a people."

As they read these brave words, a feeling of disappointment must come to many of my readers. Ellis's appeal for a national Parliament fell on an irresponsive nation. There was little opposition in Welsh Liberal circles; but there was no welcome. Yet I have been told that on one man, and he the liberator of many a struggling nationality, it made a great impression. A leading Welsh politician once told me, that if only the Welsh people would have responded to Ellis's appeal, Mr. Gladstone might have framed his second Home Rule Bill on different lines, and Wales might thus have secured, at least from the House of Commons, the boon of autonomy. Ellis unquestionably was wrong in thinking that he was on the eve of a Nationalist revival like that of 1848. The age that Rudyard Kipling inspired, on the contrary, was moving direct to the dismal exhibition of truculent Imperialism, which culminated in the South African War. He also was mistaken if he supposed that his countrymen, most of whom had not read Mazzini or Thomas Davis, could be

persuaded by some half dozen clever speeches to revolutionise their political traditions. Moreover, he himself did not see, that if a genuine Welsh Home Rule Party was to be constituted, it must be as independent of English Liberalism as of English Toryism. And lastly, he did not realise that if Welsh Home Rule was to be the dominant cry in Wales, all other questions must be subordinated to it alike on platform and in the Press. The more we think over the failure of the dream, the more we must say, that as a Welsh Home Ruler, Ellis was before his time. "You have risen early my Lord Abbot," said Glyndwr to the Abbot of Valle Crucis. "It is you who have risen too early by a hundred years," said the priest to the patriot. And Glyndwr, so the story runs, knew that he was not the Owen of whom prophecy had spoken, and passed away from the sight of man. Ellis remained in politics, and indeed, as a party politician he obtained his greatest successes after the Bala oration; still as a national leader his work was done. Welsh Home Rule was not taken seriously even in his own constituency, and Ellis was no longer the Parnell of Wales.

The next two years he did a useful work, especially on the land and education questions, and his personal relations with the leaders of the Liberal party grew more intimate.

The elections of 1892 over, clubmen and journalists began to speculate as to the personnel of the new Ministry. The general opinion was that some prominent member of the Welsh Parliamentary party would be offered an important post. At an early date a suggestion was made to Ellis that a place would be found for him. He consulted his friends. One prominent Welshman told him that if he could secure a pledge as to a Disestablishment Bill, he should not refuse a place in the Cabinet. Another friend

urged him to take office, for the reason that it was eminently desirable, in view of Government patronage, that Wales should be represented in the Ministry. A few of his admirers, and they mostly young men, considered that the leader of the Cymru Fydd party should not identify himself with the Administration but should continue to advocate Welsh Disestablishment, Welsh Land Reform and Welsh Home Rule from an independent position. The end was that Ellis, after first ascertaining the intentions of the Government on Welsh Disestablishment and Land Reform, accepted the post of a junior lord of the Treasury, and so became junior Whip to the Liberal party. (Subsequently he became chief Whip). When the appointment was announced it was received with general approval in Wales. I have been told that practically every influential Liberal in Merionethshire expressed the view that Ellis had done the right thing in accepting it. A few young men shook their heads, but in the general enthusiasm they were not noticed.

Looking back at the question after fifteen years, it is possible to judge Ellis's action and its results fairly. No personal blame can attach to him for having taken a step of which most of his countrymen warmly approved. Yet it is now clear that if the principles which he had laid down at Bala were to guide Welsh and to influence Imperial politics, his acceptance of a subordinate office was a mistake.

The Welsh people had for centuries, so far as they had been politicans at all, attached themselves to one or other of the English political parties. The idea of a Welsh national party was new to them. The conception of a Welsh national parliament was also strange. New ideas spread in so far as the world sees that men are prepared to make sacrifices for them. It has been said that the

Parliament is strong in England and that the Republic is strong in France, because men have died for them. One must admit that since Ellis took office, most of the causes for which he pleaded so eloquently have made little progress. Welsh Disestablishment, Welsh Land Reform have gone back since 1892; Welsh Home Rule in the sense that Ellis advocated it, has passed from Welsh politics. How different might things be to-day, if Ellis had chosen in 1892 to remain an independent Welsh Nationalist!

It should be remembered that after he had accepted office Ellis in spite of the heavy labours that the duties of a Whip imposed on him still worked arduously both in and out of the House in favour of Welsh reforms. He even went so far as to break official usage by adding his signature to the memorial presented by the Welsh M.P.'s to the Premier in favour of a Welsh Disestablishment Bill. In a private letter written in 1893 to a correspondent, he observes "it is true that Gladstone has had and will have to be pressed; but that is a necessity of the political situation." It was therefore a triumph for him, when after Mr. Gladstone's retirement a Welsh Disestablishment Bill passed a second reading in the House of Commons. Ellis, I believe, had no hand in the drafting of that ill-starred measure. Perhaps his influence may be traced in the fact that the Bill proposed to allot the endowments of the church for local and parish rather than for general national purposes. The opposition which arose in South Wales to this part of the scheme distressed him, and he stated that one of the reasons which induced Lord Rosebery's government to resign after the defeat on Cordite, when the Welsh Church Bill was still in Committee, was the discussion which Mr .D. A. Thomas was about to raise on the subject

The Government also did something to meet the demands of the Welsh members on the Land question. In the autumn of 1892 Mr. Gladstone in his famous speech on the slopes of Snowdon in the main accepted Ellis's opinion of the position of the Welsh tenantry, and in 1893 the Commission, "to inquire into the conditions upon which land is held, occupied and cultivated in Wales and Monmouthshire," was appointed. In spite of his heavy Parliamentary duties Ellis spared no pains in endeavouring to secure that full justice should be done to the tenant's case. Before the appointment of the Commission was announced, he had been pressing on his friends in Wales to make due preparations. He urged them to collect the farmers in a district together, and to make inquiries from them as to the rises in rents and the revaluation of estates, that had taken place in Wales during the preceding seventy years. When, with the friends and neighbours of his childhood looking on with sympathy and admiration, Ellis told the Commission sitting at Bala the story of the injustices and oppressions from which his own kindred had suffered in the past, the landlords and agents who stood by, impotent and astounded, might well have exclaimed with one of the greatest of Shakespeare's villains, "The wheel is come full circle." Ellis's evidence made a deep impression on the Commission and most of his suggestions were adopted in the majority report. It was not Ellis's fortune, however, to see any permanent results from his labours on the Church and Land questions. He, however, at this time saw a real advance in the field of education, and the help he rendered by his advice and influence to Welsh educationalists cannot be overrated, and they have received full recognition.

On November 30, 1893, the Charter of the Welsh University received the royal assent. About the same

time the schemes for the Intermediate Schools came before the Houses of Parliament and some of them were amended by the House of Lords in a manner not at all to Ellis's liking.

To turn to his position in general politics. Some have doubted if he made altogether a successful Whip, and perhaps he was not altogether happy in the position. One of his colleagues in the Ministry has told me that in his view Ellis was too good a man for the work. His words are these "I did not think that Tom Ellis made a successful Whip. He was too refined, too highly strung, too sensitive, too conscientious for a post which requires intrigue, wire-pulling, plot and counterplot, and which brings the holder into contact with every form of baseness and self-seeking. It was like setting an Archangel to organize a pork trust in Chicago." Such criticism is a high compliment. On the other side it must be remembered that Ellis succeeded in keeping a Government with a majority under forty in office for three years, and it has often been said that few could deal at once so amiably and so firmly as he could with the gentleman who claimed a Peerage or Baronetcy as the price of his votes. Throughout his life everyone who met him liked Tom Ellis and not least the man whom he disappointed. In matters of patronage he acted with great impartiality.

In the intrigues that arose on Gladstone's retirement Ellis took no very prominent part. It is, however, well known that in the struggle for the succession to the Premiership his sympathies were with Lord Rosebery. Up to that date, be it remembered there had been nothing in Lord Rosebery's political career to which a good Radical nationalist like Ellis could take exception. At this time the rejection by the Peers of Gladstone's second Home Rule Bill had brought the question of hereditary legislators

into the sphere of practical politics. Ellis resented this insult to Ireland, not only for the sake of Ireland herself, but as an outrage on the ideal of that nationalism, which in his own words gave aim and purpose to the politics of Wales. The House of Lords he believed to be the mortal enemy of all Celtic races, and he hailed with enthusiasm Lord Rosebery's attempt to restrict its powers. Personally he desired its complete abolition. Unhappily all his colleagues in the Ministry did not share his enthusiasm. In his official position he was harassed by the jealousies and intrigues that divided the party leaders and made the Rosebery crusade against the Peers the most ridiculous fiasco of modern times.

The General Election of 1895 shattered the Liberal party; but the defeat failed to give it even internal harmony. So long as he remained leader, Ellis served Lord Rosebery with fidelity, and it is interesting to recall that the letter in which that statesman announced his resignation of the leadership of the Liberal party was written to Ellis and addressed to Cynlas.

Of Ellis's political work in the last year of his life a brief word must suffice. His enthusiasm for Wales still spoke in the eagerness with which he always intervened in any educational or economic grievance that affected her. The great speech made on this more than two years before his death in which he explained to the House, the educational grievances of Welsh Nonconformists elicited a warm tribute from Mr. Balfour. He also pleaded warmly but vainly for persecuted Eastern Christendom at the time of the Armenian massacres.

In the June of 1898 all Wales listened to the sound of Ellis's marriage bells. His bride, Miss Annie Davies of Cwrt Mawr, Cardiganshire, came of an historic Welsh family, whose name is closely linked with the history of

Calvinistic Methodism. She herself also had deep sympathy with all her husband's patriotic ideals. The marriage ceremony took place at Aberystwyth, and the popularity of the happy pair was shown by the phenomenal number of wedding guests and wedding presents. Of these presents the most remarkable was the gift of a house at Westminster from Lord Rosebery, Lord Tweedmouth, Sir John Brunner and other leading Liberals.

Amid politics and love Ellis still retained the literary interests of his Oxford days. He was at this time President of the Guild of Graduates of the University of Wales, and he undertook to edit for their series of "Reprints of Welsh Prose Works" the writings of Morgan Llwyd, the Welsh poet and mystic of Puritan days. To Ellis, Llwyd deeply appealed alike in his love of Wales and in his sympathy for English freedom, and in whom could the poet who in the 17th century wrote—

> "O Wales, poor Rachel, thou shalt beare,
> Sad Hannah now rejoice
> The last is first, the summer comes
> To hear the turtle's voice"--

have found a more appreciative commentator than in the statesman who, in the prosaic 19th century, dreamed of a Cymric Parliament elected by the sons and daughters of Wales.

Ellis studied to see Morgan Llwyd on every side and for this purpose commenced a careful study of the writings of the German mystic Behmen, who fascinated Llwyd as he fascinated many other writers of the 17th century. To Welsh literature Ellis's death, when his work on Llwyd was only in part completed, caused an irreparable loss; but it is pleasant to think that in the political troubles that beset the last months of his life, he had the consolation not only of a happy home, but of a constant

converse with the "wise and brave of ancient days."

The preface to the first volume of the "Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd" bears the date March 20, 1899, and the work is dedicated to "Lewis Edwards" and "Michael D. Jones."

Alas!

> "The tale of friendship scarce was told,
> Ere the narrator's heart was cold." *

The early days of the year had been especially trying for the chief Whip of the Liberal party. That party had again been plunged into a crisis owing to the resignation of the leadership by Sir William Harcourt, and Ellis in his official capacity, summoned the meeting that elected as his successor, the present Prime Minister. I have heard it said, that Ellis's personal sympathies were with those who desired the honour for Mr. Asquith, and I am told that he said privately, that if Mr. Asquith were put at the head of the Liberal party, the social influences that were supposed to be weakening the radicalism of his earlier days, would have less influence with him. The first part of the session had been trying. Ellis had been laid up with influenza, and his friends advised him to go to the south of France in the Easter recess in the hope that the change would re-establish his health. Shortly before he sailed, he attended a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Society, where I saw him for the last time. The subject was a paper on "Geoffrey of Monmouth," by Professor Lewis Jones, of Bangor. To the discussion that followed, Ellis contributed a delightful little speech. "Englishmen," he said, "could not appreciate a Welshman's imaginative humour, and so they called poor Geoffrey a liar." Many of us shook hands with Ellis after the meeting was over, and he seemed to us all cheerful and happy.

* Sir Walter Scott, "Marmion." Introduction to Canto IV.

Little did any of us guess that his earthly course was nearly accomplished.

Mr. and Mrs. Ellis and their friends went to Cannes; but from the first he was unwell. It is characteristic of the man that even on his short holiday in spite of weakness, his mind was full of Wales. Four days before his death, he sent to his friend the Rev. Gwynoro Davies in the last letter that he ever wrote the sum of £87 which he had himself collected for the Intermediate School at Barmouth. The same day he was taken seriously ill with brain fever and never rallied. On April 5 the end came.

The tidings were received in Wales with consternation and anguish. The general feeling was pathetically expressed in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, that the catastrophe was a fresh illustration of the dark fate that seems to overhang Celtic nations, that whenever they have obtained a national leader in whom they have complete trust he is taken from them.

All that Wales could do to show honour to the lost leader was well accomplished. One might almost say that a nation in mourning followed the body to its last resting place at Cefnddwysarn. They were all represented there, his colleagues in the Ministry and the House, the Professors of the University that he had helped to found; the preachers and deacons of the Nonconformity that he had served, the companions of his student days, the personal friends, who were also political opponents. They had all come to give a nation's sympathy to the mourning wife and kindred.

Four years later, and Mr. John Morley unveiled the monument which for many a generation will recall alike to the English wayfarer, and the Welsh nation, the patriotism of Thomas Ellis. His portrait hangs today in the hall of that Aberystwyth College that he loved.

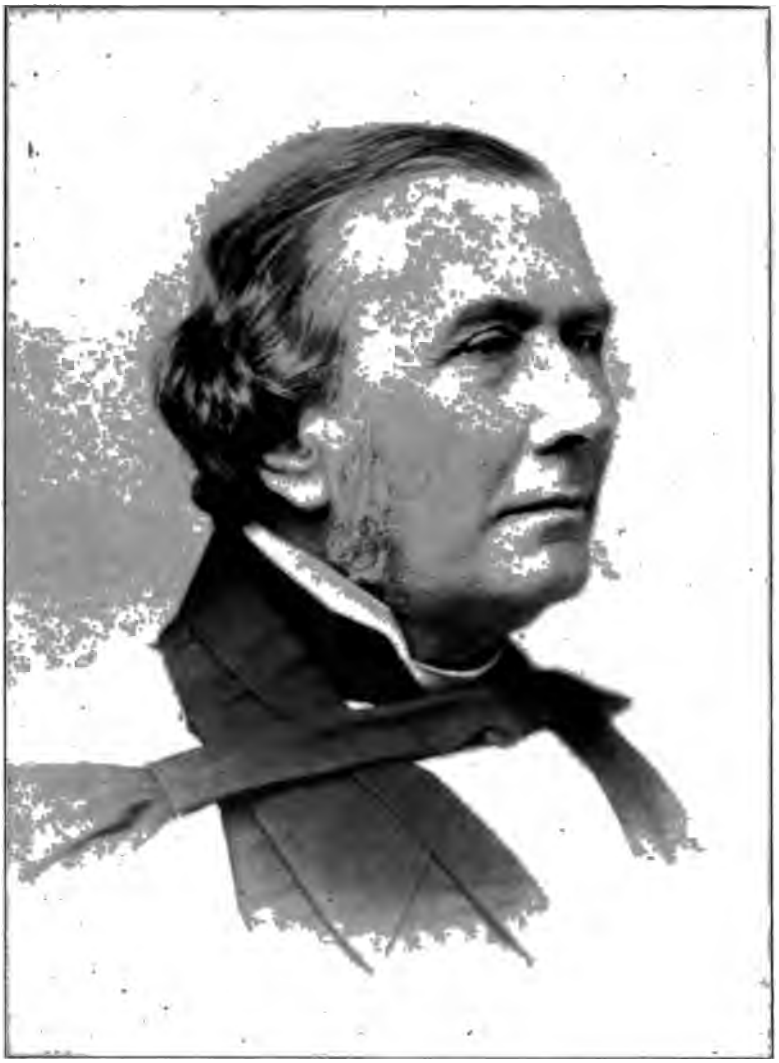
His early death was a terrible loss for his family, for Welsh literature and for Welsh education. Yet for him as a politician it was no unmixed misfortune. It saved him from witnessing the temporary betrayal by some of his own dear friends of every nationalist and liberal principle in the miserable South African war. Even were he now alive he would be forced to admit that the so-called Welsh party in the House of Commons is less brightened by the "glow of nationality" than it was even in his own day. Would he, one may ask, have kept all his old enthusiasm for education, when confronted with the painful fact, that the Welsh University Colleges are no longer as they were in the early "eighties," the nurseries of nationalist leaders?

His work as a Welsh statesman was, I think, accomplished when he had put before his countrymen the plea for a reformed and self-governed Wales in his great speech at Bala. His own generation appreciated his noble character and his great practical services to Wales. It must be the work of a generation, at once more idealistic and also more far-seeing than his own, to realise his aspirations.

One thing, at least, we may say. He lived only forty years, dying at the age at which the careers of men like Glyndwr and Cromwell only commenced. Yet in his brief span he had added an honourable reputation to Welsh and Imperial politics and had placed before Wales a higher conception of national life, of national politics, and national duty than any that she had known since the days of Glyndwr.

"Stat sua cuique dies: breve et irreparabile tempus.
Omnibus est vitæ; sed famam extendere factis,
Hoc virtutis opus." *

* *Virgil Æneid Lib, X.* 467-9.



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DEAN VAUGHAN (Llandaff).

DEAN VAUGHAN.

Born 1816. *Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. Vicar of St Martin's, Leicester*, 1841—1844; *Headmaster of Harrow*, 1844—1859; *Vicar of Doncaster*, 1860—1869; *Master of the Temple*, 1869—1894; *Dean of Llandaff*, 1879—1897; *President of University College, Cardiff*, 1894—1897; *Chaplain-in-Ordinary and Clerk of the Closet to the Queen; Died October* 15, 1897.

By PROFESSOR C. VAUGHAN, M.A.
Professor of English Literature, Leeds University.

CHARLES JOHN VAUGHAN (1816-1897), came of a family which traces its origin to Wales, and of which the county of Brecknock, more particularly the Vale of Usk, was probably the first home. It is possible, though by no means certain, that his branch of the family was descended from Henry Vaughan, "the Silurist," whose poetry, in some respects akin to that of George Herbert, represents perhaps the highest point reached by the mystics of the seventeenth century, and who practised as physician in the Vale of Usk. The grave of the poet, with an inscription (*Servus inutilis, Peccator maximus*), which his descendant, if so he was, would gladly have taken to himself, may still be seen in a corner of the churchyard at Llansantfraed, close to the banks of the river which he loved and which must have inspired some of his most beautiful poems.

The first certain point in the history of Charles

Vaughan's ancestors is, however, to be found in William Vaughan, (b. 1648), who may, or may not, have been the son of the Silurist, and who eventually rose to be Censor to the College of Physicians and Physician to William III. William Vaughan had a son, Henry, who was Vicar of Leominster in the middle of the 18th century; and Henry's grandson, James, migrated to Leicester, where he had a considerable name as a physician at the close of that century. James was grandfather to the subject of the present memoir. His family was one of unusual ability. One son, Henry—afterwards, on succeeding to the estate of Wistow, Leicestershire, Sir Henry Halford—became the most skilful Physician of the day, and President of the College of Physicians. Another John, was successively a Baron of the Exchequer and Judge in the Court of Common Pleas; *his* son, Halford, being Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and in his later years, a devoted student of the Welsh language and antiquities (see his "British Reason in English Rhyme." Another son, Charles, rose to great distinction in the diplomatic service and was for many years (1825-35) Ambassador to the United States. Another, Peter, was Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and Dean of Chester. The youngest son, Edward, took Orders and became Vicar of St. Martin's, commonly reckoned as the most important parish of Leicester; holding in addition the parishes of All Saints', Leicester and of Foston, a tiny village about seven miles to the south of Leicester. Edward Vaughan was a devoted minister, and a preacher of unusual power. He was twice married; first to Elizabeth Anne Hill, by whom he had three daughters, the eldest of whom was the mother of Thomas Hill Green, subsequently Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, and

perhaps the most original thinker of his day; secondly to Agnes, daughter of Thomas Pares, banker and stocking manufacturer at Leicester. Of the later marriage Charles John Vaughan was the second son.

Edward Vaughan shared the feeling, then common among religious people, against public schools; and, being a highly trained scholar himself—he was Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge—as well as a man of wide reading in many directions, he wisely kept the education of his sons in his own hands. From the first, Charles showed remarkable quickness. He would scamper through his own lessons and then lay his big head on his arms and sleep in comfort, while his slower, and perhaps more industrious, companions were still labouring with theirs. On the sudden death of his father (1829), other plans had to be made; and he was sent to Rugby, then under the rule of Thomas Arnold, the most famous teacher of his day, or indeed, of the whole century. At Rugby he remained till the summer of 1834, carrying off a host of prizes and, what is far more important, gathering much from intercourse with Arnold, with the assistant masters—in whose number were included Lee and Bonamy Price—and with a number of talented boys who had been drawn to Rugby by the fame of the great headmaster. Among these were William Lake, afterwards Dean of Durham; Arthur Clough the poet, who seems to have left an extraordinarily deep impression on all who were brought in contact with him; and above all, Arthur Stanley, who was exactly Vaughan's contemporary and whose sister Catherine he subsequently married (1850). On leaving Rugby, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge; and there again he carried off all the distinctions, ending with that of being bracketed (with the late Lord

Lyttelton) as Senior Classic and Chancellor's Medallist, and of election to a Fellowship of his College.

Throughout his career as schoolboy and undergraduate, he had looked forward to adopting the law as his profession. The distinction of his uncle, John, had from the first turned his face in that direction; and even as a child, he had shewn a preternaturally keen interest in the grim proceedings of the Assizes. Accordingly, on finishing his time at the University, he at once began to "eat his dinners," and at least once acted as Marshal to his uncle on Circuit. Considering the general cast of his mind, it is as certain as any such thing can be that he would have risen to great eminence in that profession. But it was not to be. Conscientious scruples, in which the influence of Arnold probably had some share, caused him to renounce all these prospects—by no means the last instance of the kind that we shall have to notice.

He took Orders, and in a short time (1841) was appointed to the Vicarage of St. Martin's, Leicester, which had been held by his father, and which was to be held by two of his brothers, Edward and David, in succession. There he threw himself heart and soul into the work of a minister; there also he first displayed his remarkable powers as a preacher. A good authority has related that, at first, he allowed himself to be so much engrossed in pastoral work that he left insufficient time for the preparation of his sermons. Jowett, the late Master of Balliol College, who described him a little later as "the wisest man I know, and the wittiest," was present at one of these early sermons and remarked afterwards to the preacher: "You would preach very well, if you would only take more trouble." The lesson was not lost. Whatever else might be said of Vaughan's sermons in after years, he could certainly not be accused of having

failed to think them out, or to give his thoughts the most finished expression at his command.

Parish work, however, was hardly the sphere to which his great scholastic attainments would naturally have led him : nor perhaps the sphere with which his youthful ambition was likely to be long content. Accordingly, on Arnold's sudden death in 1842, he applied for the head-mastership of Rugby; but Tait, then Tutor of Balliol, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, was preferred to him. Two years later the head-mastership of Harrow fell vacant and, in spite of his youth,—he was still only 28—Vaughan was appointed to the post. A great work lay before any man who possessed the talent to perform it. The numbers of the famous school had fallen sadly during the preceding years, and the discipline was said to be very imperfect. All this was soon altered under the new government. Discipline was restored; within two years the numbers had risen from about 60 to 200; and before Vaughan resigned his post, they stood at a higher point than they had ever reached in the previous history of the school. His success as head-master—a success which is universally admitted and which the Trustees emphatically recorded on their minutes at the time of his resignation—was due to many causes. In the first place, his ability had always been marked by a strong practical bent. He was always a man of affairs rather than, in the strict sense, a student. Being put, therefore, to govern a school, it was only natural that he should govern it with signal capacity. Again, he had a keen eye for the choice of men to help him; and he would have been the first to admit that the success of a school depends, to an incalculable extent, upon the character and attainments of its assistant masters. His relations with his assistants were always cordial and full of

consideration. Yet again, his bearing and talents were such as to make the deepest impression upon the outside world; and no one who is familiar with the vicissitudes of public schools will be disposed to underestimate that source of strength.

But, after all, the two qualities on which his success was mainly built were his power of teaching and his power of preaching. If we give a wide sense to each of these terms, and take them to mean all the qualities of intellect and character which in truth they imply, we shall have the secret of the influence he exerted. As a teacher, he had certainly not the breadth of Arnold nor of others, headmasters or assistants, who might easily be mentioned. His knowledge was accurate rather than wide, and he took but little interest in the historical studies which Arnold had made so living a thing at Rugby. Still he was far too liberal not to see the necessity of widening the studies of a school which has always been a somewhat exclusive stronghold of the classics. He insisted on the importance of history and strengthened the teaching of mathematics; he further, which was a more revolutionary step, introduced the teaching of modern languages. It was, however, by his own teaching that he most made himself felt. And there, within the limits marked out by his own training and natural bent, it would have been difficult to surpass him. He was a classical scholar of the severe type then current at Cambridge, with an unerring eye for minute subtleties of language and a highly cultivated instinct for the genius peculiar to each of the classical languages, an intuitive perception of what could, and what could not, be said in either of them. And with his natural love of teaching—which, in some form or other, was the most enduring passion of his life—he was signally successful in

communicating his scholarly gifts to his pupils. Harrow, during his time, produced an unusually large number of youths distinguished for ability in this direction; and some of them have publicly recorded their debt to Vaughan's keen intellect and to his powers as a teacher.

The two things must in no way be confused; least of all in the case of a man like Vaughan. Everyone is aware how largely the work of a teacher depends upon character; upon his own character in the first place, on his power of waking a response in that of his pupils, in the second. He must make himself respected as a man—more than that, he must have the power of control, he must have something of magnetic attraction in his personality—before he can hope to impress by his knowledge or his intellectual capacity. And this is perhaps especially true in the highly artificial world of the public schools of England; a world where the teacher is, for the time being, in the position not only of instructor, but of parent to those who are placed under his charge. Now in all these qualities Vaughan was exceptionally strong; and it was by them, at least as much as by his brilliant gifts of intellect, that he impressed himself upon his pupils. Nothing could have been gentler than his manner; too gentle, it was thought by those who did not admire him. But it may safely be said that no boy was ever led to presume upon it; or that, if he did so once, he never repeated the attempt. For beneath the velvet glove there lay a hand of steel; and within the gentle lips there was a tongue which, on occasion, could cut like a razor. In his earlier days it is probable that he used his powers of sarcasm too relentlessly; and it was only by long self-discipline, and by unceasing watchfulness, that he brought them under control. From the first, however, he was alive to the dangers which beset this particular

gift, and he said once, "I should be sorry to think that the boys were as much afraid of me as I was of Arnold." On the whole, it is probable that he had not much to reproach himself with; and certain that the capacity for severity, hand-in-hand as it went with unfeigned kindness and sympathy—a sympathy which many boys must have had occasion to remember till the end of their lives—stood him in good stead as headmaster as well as in the other public duties while he was later called on to discharge. Alike in his speech and in his reticence, the whole personality of the man was thrown into his teaching; and it was just this that made his teaching so effective.

The other main channel through which that personality found expression was, it need hardly be said, his preaching. In the ordinary intercourse of life he might easily have been mistaken for a man of the world. No such mistake could ever have been made by those who heard him preach. The deeply religious nature, which elsewhere was concealed beneath a natural and surely not an unhealthy reserve, here came no less naturally to the surface. And what distinguishes his sermons from many that may have enjoyed a wider popularity is not so much the beauty of their style, remarkable though it is, as the depth of their religious feeling and the closeness of their religious experience; that and the wide, essentially unsectarian outlook on men and things which they embody. It was sometimes supposed by those who knew him only from without, and who were themselves of a literary turn, that he approached his sermons in the vein of a literary artist. No mistake could have been more complete. His sermons, no doubt, were written with great care and with a mastery of style which he had perfected by his classical training. But that was

because he could not help it, because it was not in his nature to do any task to which he set himself in a slip-shod manner, or without giving his work all the perfection which it lay in him to bestow. It was this, perhaps, more than anything else which kept him faithful to a long-standing tradition of his Church, which prefers the written to the spoken word. An excellent speaker, as all who ever heard him speak will well remember, he always looked askance at the growing practice of preaching without book. He was convinced that the result was a less finished utterance, one less in accord with the mature thought of the speaker, less likely therefore to sink into the heart of the hearer and less worthy of the divine ministry which it was intended to fulfil. But it was on the fulfilment of that ministry that all his thoughts were fixed; style, polish, delivery were all subordinated to that end. His theory may have been right, or it may have been wrong. But it is simple justice to say that it had nothing to do with literary vanity, that it sprang solely from his sense of what was due from the preacher to his hearers, and to God. As a school preacher, he naturally and rightly dwelt in the first instance on the difficulties and temptations which surrounded those to whom he was speaking week by week. But he avoided the danger of never lifting the hearts of his hearers beyond the playing-field or the class-room; and some of his more striking Harrow sermons are concerned with the public events of the day, and the bearing which they had on the inner life and outward duties of those who were to pass out into the wider world of professional or public life. Still here, as always, his main thought was for the immediate duties of the moment, or for the moral and religious truths which remain unchanged amid the changes of age.

experience and outward surroundings. Perhaps this is to be seen most clearly in his small manual on "Confirmation," which was prepared for the sake of his schoolboy candidates and which has proved the most widely used, and perhaps the most useful, of all his publications. No one can read its pages without feeling the spiritual fervour, the devotion to duty and the love of God, which lie behind them. No one can read them, without also feeling the strong practical sense which guided these deeper instincts to their mark, and saved them from losing themselves, as so often happens, in the air.

His fame as preacher, no less than as administrator, had steadily risen during the time he was at Harrow. And when, at the end of 1859, he laid down the office of headmaster, under the conviction that, both for himself and for the school, a change was expedient, there was an universal expectation that he would be made a bishop at the earliest opportunity. He himself made no secret of his belief that this would happen, nor of his desire that it should. Accordingly when, a few weeks after his departure from Harrow, Lord Palmerston, who (as Chairman of the Governing Body) had formed the highest opinion of his powers, offered him the Bishopric of Rochester, he accepted the post, apparently without a moment's hesitation. It was a shock to the world at large, and not least to those who stood closest to him, when, a day or two later, he withdrew his acceptance. All kinds of ridiculous explanations were offered for his conduct. As to his real motives, it is impossible to speak with certainty. Between him and the world it remained a closed subject to the end of his days. And if he ever opened himself to his private friends, it was under the seal of secrecy, a secrecy which has been inviolably preserved. Those who knew him best never

concealed their opinion that, as in his earlier abandonment of the law, his action sprang from a rooted distrust of himself, a determination to tear up ambition by the roots. If this be the truth, nothing could prove more clearly the rare nobility of his nature, his readiness to sacrifice everything to scruples which most men would have put aside. What is certain is that the offer of a bishopric was renewed, perhaps more than once, and that it was met by instant refusal. It is impossible to regret his decision; and that for more reasons than one. He was never sufficiently in sympathy with clerical feeling, least of all with that feeling as it developed more and more in his later years, to be altogether in his element as a bishop. And the work which he actually accomplished was a work at once more distinctive, and far higher in kind, than what is inevitably, in large measure, the routine of episcopal duties. Had he become a bishop, it is doubtful whether his influence as preacher would have been so great. It is certain that his work in training candidates for Ordination could never even have been attempted.

Within a few months after his refusal of Rochester, he accepted the Vicarage of Doncaster; so returning to the parochial work which he had laid down for the head mastership of Harrow. It was at Doncaster that he perfected his powers as a preacher. It was here also that he set the seal upon his character for unselfish devotion. The town, one of the oldest in Yorkshire, was rapidly rising in importance, largely owing to the growth of the Great Northern Railway, and the increase of population brought by the Company's works. The new Vicar set himself to provide for the spiritual needs of the railway men and of the town in general. His ministrations were unwearied; and when a severe outbreak of

cholera occurred in his earlier years, he completely won the heart of the town and neighbourhood by the bravery with which, in contempt of a general panic, he trudged from house to house, throughout the time of the epidemic, doing all that could be done to comfort the sick, the dying, and the mourners. His conduct during that time of trial has never been forgotten. But parochial work was far from engrossing all his energies. Besides his work for the Diocese, of which, on account of his great administrative powers, he was appointed Chancellor, he took an active part in the public life of Doncaster. In these matters he is mainly remembered for the stand he made against the indecent custom of ringing the Church bells in honour of the annual races. The public opinion of the town was dead against him. But he went quietly on his way; as some said, with the key of the belfry in his pocket. The bells were not rung. And when time had been given for reflection, it came to be generally recognised that he was in the right. And the boldness he shewed in this, as in other matters, won him the profound respect of his fellow-townsmen. When he resigned the Vicarage, the Town Council paid him the honour, which cannot often have been bestowed on a clergyman, of placing his portrait in the Town Hall.

The most distinctive work, however, which marked his time at Doncaster was the preparation of candidates for Ordination; a task which, begun now, remained his chief interest till the end of his life. It was in a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge in 1861 that he first announced his readiness to undertake this charge. And the invitation was speedily taken up by graduates of one or other of the Universities. Before he left Doncaster, some sixty young men had thus passed through his hands. And before his death the number

had reached 450. It should hardly be necessary to say—but, as some incredulity was expressed at various times, it is as well to say it—that his instruction was given gratuitously. The work, at the time it was undertaken, was an entire novelty. More than that, it marked a new departure in the history of the Church of England. Till that time it had commonly been assumed that, when a man had taken a degree and passed the Bishop's not very exacting examination, he was completely equipped for the work of the ministry. Vaughan was deeply convinced that more was needed; and that there were few men who would not be the better for further and more special preparation. And his Church, which stood alone in disregarding such an obvious necessity, has subsequently come over to this opinion. Witness the multiplication of Theological Colleges, previously little known and little esteemed, during the last forty years.

He himself was no theologian; not, at least, in the technical sense of the term. Still less was he an ecclesiastical historian. And those who attach exclusive importance to such studies would doubtless find much to seek in the instruction which he gave. He would readily have admitted his own deficiencies. But he would probably have added that it is difficult for a man to teach such subjects without, consciously or unconsciously, imparting a strong bias to his instruction; and that this is a grave set-off against their usefulness. By avoiding them, he at least avoided committing his pupils, at a time when they could hardly be supposed to have thought very seriously for themselves, to pronounced views on one side or the other. And, as a matter of fact, nearly every school of thought, not excepting that of the advanced High Church, has subsequently enlisted adherents from the ranks of those who began their ministerial work under his

guidance. His aims were exceedingly simple, and perhaps they were none the worse for being so. They may, in fact, be reduced to three. In the first place, he sought to train his men in the accurate interpretation, and the loving study, of the New Testament. In the second place, to train them, so far as such a thing is possible, for the work of preaching. Lastly, to prepare them for the pastoral work on which, both in theory and practice, he set, as surely he was right to set, so high a value.

A few words may be added to indicate the methods he followed in each of these branches of instruction. In the interpretation of Scripture, he insisted on the importance of reaching the exact and literal meaning of the sacred text. And if he cared little to frame a theological system out of the New Testament, at least he brought some almost unique qualities to its verbal interpretation. He brought a linguistic sense, innate in the first instance, but laboriously trained by his life-long study of the Greek language in general and of Hellenistic Greek in particular. He was, for instance, among the first to seize the importance of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament for determining the exact sense of certain vexed passages, or disputed senses of words, in the New. His published editions of the Epistles to the *Romans* and *Philippians* and *Hebrews* are enough to show the soundness of his method and the value of his results. All this offered an intellectual discipline of inestimable service to his pupils; nor could any other have served so well to impress upon them that knowledge and reverence of the Bible which were so marked in himself, and which, it is to be hoped, will always be considered essential for all members of the Christian ministry. By far the greater part of the time devoted to lecturing was given to this study, though, as occasion served, he would give

addresses of practical suggestion as to the best ways of meeting the difficulties of pastoral work and of the pulpit. His instruction in the methods of preaching was, however, mainly conveyed through individual criticism of the sermons which he encouraged his pupils to write from time to time. Training in pastoral duties, again, was mainly given by practice: first, in the ordinary parochial work of Doncaster; then, by the ever ready kindness of the local clergy, in the parishes which lay near his own house in London or at Llandaff. Yet more important, however, than training in preaching and pastoral work, more important even than training in scriptural interpretation, was the daily intercourse with a man of singularly exalted character, of singularly deep sympathies, and of a singularly acute and brilliant intellect, which his pupils enjoyed during the year they generally spent under his guidance. It was that intercourse which left the deepest mark upon their character and the general tenor of their thoughts; and it established a bond which was commonly maintained unbroken till death. The sympathy between the teacher and each individual pupil was deep and enduring; and in moments of difficulty or trial, it was to the "Doctor" that the pupil habitually turned for advice or comfort. The correspondence with his former pupils entailed a heavy, and constantly increasing, burden upon the master. But it was a burden which he eagerly undertook; and it formed one of the chief pleasures, as well as one of the great duties, of his life until the end.

In 1869, after nine years of parochial work, Dr. Vaughan was offered the Mastership of the Temple, an office once held by Richard Hooker; and he accepted the offer without scruple. The chief official duty of the post was to preach on Sunday mornings during Term-time.

And he was conscious that he would have the more strength and leisure left for what he was coming more and more to regard as the main work of his life, the preparation of young men for the ministry. He was also pardonably glad, and perhaps his wife, who had brilliant social gifts, was still more so, to be brought once more into connection with the stirring society of London. The sermon with which he opened his ministrations at the Temple is of interest as defining the spirit in which he entered on his new duties. Speaking before a highly critical audience—an audience more critical than it would be easy to find in any other place of worship—he announced with manly openness that his creed was the creed of his fathers, and that no tampering with the historic faith of reformed Christendom must be expected from his lips. The Benchers accepted this declaration in the spirit which prompted it; and a bond of mutual kindliness and respect was from the first established between the master and his congregation. That congregation, it need hardly be said, was largely swelled by those who came from all parts to hear so well-known a preacher, and who listened to his discourses either from the circular ante-chapel attached to the west end of the famous church or, so far as there was room, from seats granted by the courtesy of the Benchers in the main body of the building. Though not musical himself, the Master took a deep interest in the maintenance of the musical services at the high level for which they had long been famous. He was bound, moreover, by the closest ties of friendship to his colleague in the ministry —the Reader, the late Canon Ainger, who was responsible for the evening sermon. No contrast could have been greater than that between the two men; and the Temple was strangely fortunate in such a combination of gifts. When Dr. Vaughan resigned, it was a keen pleasure to him

that his colleague was appointed to succeed him; and their friendship remained unbroken to the end. During the earlier years of his mastership, Dr. Vaughan added to his Sunday duties by undertaking the evening services at St. Andrew's, Holborn, so keeping himself in touch with the needs of a congregation more representative of all sorts and conditions than that which his official position had called him to minister to. The benefit of such a link with the larger world of struggling humanity was always present to his mind, and might easily be traced in his published sermons. Still, when all is said, it remains true that, from his appointment to the Temple onwards, the chief field of his energies was among his candidates for Ordination; and that in his work for them he found a recompense for the loss of parochial duties which that appointment necessarily brought with it. He, in fact, returned in the main to that life of teaching which had always had so strong an attraction for him. The only difference between the occupation of his later years and that which had fallen to his lot at Harrow was that his teaching was now directed to a special end, and that it was more closely connected with the service of the ministry.

Ten years after his appointment to the Mastership of the Temple (1879), Dr. Vaughan received from his friend, Bishop Ollivant, the offer of the Deanery of Llandaff. And since this was compatible with his continued tenure of the Mastership, since the work with his candidates, so far from suffering, was, on the contrary, likely to gain from the recurrent change of residence and greater variety of pastoral work which it offered, he had no hesitation in accepting. It was an added pleasure that he thus returned to the country from which his family had originally sprung. He was too old a man, and too busy,

ever to acquire the Welsh language. But he took a deep interest in the intellectual and spiritual life of the Welsh nation, and in the various institutions which have done so much to keep it alive. On one occasion he addressed a meeting of the National Eisteddfod. And, though neither his voice nor his style of speaking were well adapted for so vast a gathering, he always thought of the task, so attempted, with pleasure. In the educational development of South Wales, then entering on an entirely new phase, he took an active part, and one which was entirely free from denominational bias. He recognised to the full all that the Nonconformist bodies had done, and were doing, for the educational, no less than for the religious, life of the country. And, quite apart from his distrust of sacerdotalism in any shape or form, he had the deepest repugnance against anything in the shape of sectarian rivalry. Accordingly, he was always able to act in entire cordiality with those who represented Nonconformist opinion in such matters. Indeed, it is probable that he was more in sympathy with them than with the sentiment which commonly prevailed in his own communion. And this enabled him to do yeoman's service in the cause of higher education, the need of which was keenly felt by the Welsh nation, and by none more than the new Dean. When it was decided that an University College should be founded by South Wales, he was chosen, with Mr. Lewis Williams, to plead before the Privy Council that it should be located at Cardiff; and it may fairly be said that the decision of the Government in favour of this view has been more than confirmed by the subsequent course of events. Cardiff having been fixed on as the site of the new College, it remained to carry the design into execution. This was the harder part of the business. In addition to the

ordinary difficulties of raising funds—difficulties here enhanced by the comparative poverty of the district—it was by no means easy to find a suitable site. At length, however, it was determined with the Dean's warm approval, to adapt the buildings of the old Infirmary as temporary quarters for the College. And these were opened for the purpose, the Dean taking part in the religious ceremony, in the autumn of 1884. He had taken an active share in the appointment of the Principal and Teaching Staff, a task in which his wisdom and educational experience, his keen insight into character, and his high standard of intellectual attainment gave commanding weight to his opinion and were of the greatest service to his colleagues. And the success of the College during the crucial period of its first beginnings was largely due to the discernment with which these appointments were made. For the next ten years the Dean, when in residence, was seldom absent from the meetings of the Council; and, in recognition of his many services, he was in 1894 elected President of the College. But the severe illness which assailed him in the spring of that year prevented him from discharging the duties of the post with the regularity which he would have desired. His death, which followed three years later, was commonly felt to be among the most severe losses which the College had sustained.

It would be impossible to leave this part of his work in Wales without mentioning the interest he took in the two schools which stood, so to speak, at his door, Howell's School and the Cathedral School. The latter, in particular, was the constant object of his thoughts, and one of his chief cares. He placed it, with generous help from his own resources, on an entirely new footing; and, while recognising that its first object should be to

provide choristers for the cathedral services, he was always anxious to guard against the danger of sacrificing the general work of the school to this special end; in particular, he was keenly alive to the inexpediency of obtruding religious services (beyond a certain point which, in his opinion, was soon reached) upon young and, it is to be hoped, high-spirited boys. There were few things, if any, in his life at Llandaff that he enjoyed more than his intercourse with Mr. Owen, the headmaster of the school; and when he had time, he was fond of watching the boys at play. It has been necessary to dwell upon the educational interests of his closing years, not only for their intrinsic importance, but because nothing serves so well to show the essential unity of his life which, from beginning to end, was that of a great teacher no less than of a devoted pastor.

As pastor and teacher, he retained his activity until about fifteen months from the end. Even after the illness of 1894, an illness which caused him to resign the Mastership of the Temple, he continued to preach in the Cathedral, when health allowed; and it was a striking sight to watch the crowds which flocked out from Cardiff to hear him. It had always been through his sermons that he impressed himself most strongly upon those among whom he dwelt; and, as it had been in Yorkshire or in London, so it was in Wales. He was extremely reluctant to undertake occasional sermons in places which had no connection with his regular duties. "It is like dropping a single pea into the ground," he said, with expressive gesture, "it bears no fruit." But he threw himself with all the more ardour into the sermons preached Sunday after Sunday at Llandaff. Even there, no doubt, the congregation was to a large extent a floating one. But there was a nucleus of those who came

week after week; not from curiosity, but because they found in his words a spiritual power, and in the man himself a source of spiritual strength, which gave a new meaning to their life, and enabled them to discharge their daily duties with more readiness and devotion. These were the people to whom he spoke, and for whom he truly cared. They are also the people to whom his voice, and the religious spirit which spoke through it, are a cherished and still living memory. For system he cared little, or nothing. His preaching was, in the best and truest sense of the word, evangelical. Its one object was to bring home to the hearts and lives of others the truths which were for ever present to his own mind, and which had the deepest influence upon his own conduct; the sense of sin and the love of God on the one side, the endeavour to translate the love of God into his daily acts upon the other. It was the simplicity and sincerity of his religion, alike in its inner and its outer aspect, that gave him, both as preacher and as man, so deep an influence on those with whom he was brought in contact. No one could have intercourse with him, or hear him preach, without feeling that he lived in a higher world, but that he did so without losing one jot of his interest in the common affairs of life, or of the practical sagacity, the intellectual keenness, the observant humour, which he had from nature.

As teacher also, he continued his work until the painful illness of the last fifteen months made continuance impossible. Even then, a few of his pupils lingered on, reluctant to sever the tie that bound them to him. And, with a visible effort, he continued to guide their studies from his sick-bed. In November, 1896, however, it became clear to him that "his work was ended;" and, in a circular letter of great beauty, he bade farewell to

those whose labours "in quiet villages and crowded towns" he had watched with a father's love, the "faithful friends" whose thoughts were constantly with him, as his with them, upon his bed of suffering. "That I love you to the end," he wrote, "needs not to be said. These few calm words will carry that message, perhaps after, more probably before, I close my eyes upon a world of opportunity and wonder." The end came on October 15, 1897. And the most striking sight at his burial was the long file of former pupils who followed his body to the grave. "There has been nothing like it in our time," wrote one who knew him but slightly, but who, like him, has striven to unite the ideals of pastor and of teacher.

[Among his many publications may be mentioned *Memorials of Harrow Sundays*, 1859; *On Confirmation*, 1859; *Epistle to the Romans*, 1859 (5th Ed. 1880); *Lessons of Life and Godliness*, 1862; *Epistle to the Philippians*, 1885; *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1890].

Photo. by] [*Elliot & Fry.*

. CHARLES HUMPHREYS-OWEN, M.P.

ARTHUR CHARLES HUMPHREYS-OWEN.

A Welsh Squire-Reformer.

Born November 9, 1836; *educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the Bar* 1863; *Member of Parliament for Montgomeryshire,* 1894—1905; *Chairman, Central Welsh Board from November* 7, 1896, *to his death; Deputy Chancellor University of Wales*; *died December* 9, 1905.

By Frederick Edward Hamer.
("*Manchester Guardian*").

Mr. Humphreys-Owen was born at Garthmyl, a Montgomeryshire village, on November 9, 1836. He was the eldest son of Mr. Erskine Humphreys, a barrister. The Owens of Glansevern, to whom he was allied on his mother's side, were an old Welsh family, who claimed descent from the tribe of Griffith ap Cynan, one of the Royal Tribes of Wales. The members of his family had for some generations associated themselves with the cause of reform. His grandfather, Samuel Humphreys, was a sturdy friend of liberty, who stood firm in the dark days of the French Revolution when so many deserted their principles. Samuel's brother was a friend and colleague of Romilly and other Reformers, and took a large part in securing the political emancipation of the Jews. His maternal uncle, Judge Johnes, was the author of the famous essay on the causes of Dissent in Wales.

In 1876, on the death of Mrs. Owen of Glansevern, he succeeded to the Glansevern estates in Montgomeryshire, and assumed the additional surname of Owen. Here his

public work for Wales begins. It falls into three departments—Welsh education, Welsh national (including political) reforms, and Welsh local government.

He played a decisive part in determining three points in Welsh educational policy. His first aim was to make the secondary education system a national as well as a county interest. He saw that if each county followed its own plan, and resisted or neglected, the opportunity for organic union with its sister counties, no attempt to standardise Welsh education could succeed. There would be thirteen or more independent organisations, each working to a different academical standard, employing different methods, seeking different ends. The advocates of the national idea won. While the principle of county autonomy was carefully safe-guarded, the fact that each county was a section of something larger was given practical effect to. It was thus made possible for the first time for the Government to treat Wales as a national entity for education purposes, and to give to the Welsh system a character sufficiently distinctive, and a scale sufficiently large, to enable it to count as an educational factor outside as well as inside Wales. The importance of the latter consideration was seen more clearly at a later stage, when it became desirable to ask such bodies as the Law Society and the Medical Council to recognise the certificate of the Central Welsh Board. To-day, it is possible for a Welsh boy, before leaving the county school, to pass an examination which carries him direct, without any further examination, into the work of his profession.

The second point which Mr. Humphreys-Owen most strenuously fought for was the exclusion of denominational interests from Welsh secondary schools. Here the Church view came into open conflict with the " national "

view. But the principle for which he and others stood, was again carried, and the Welsh County schools were for ever put outside the area of denominational strife.

The third problem was how to combine a high academical standard of school work with the widest possible distribution of educational facilities. One plan, suggested by the English model, was to establish large institutions of the ordinary grammar school type, one or two for each county. If the thirteen Welsh counties had been thirteen large towns, this plan would have answered perfectly. Probably no question of an alternative would ever have arisen. But in fact the Welsh authorities had to deal with a comparatively small population spread over an immensely wide area, and it was clear that that population could only effectually be reached by establishing a large number of small schools. Mr. Humphreys-Owen heartily supported this policy, not because it was free from objections and defects, but because it was the only one which promised to bring secondary education within the reach of the whole of the Welsh people.

The Welsh Intermediate Act was passed in 1889. The County Councils had already come into existence, and it was natural that the county should be taken as the unit of organisation. But the Act happily went beyond this. It was so framed as to allow of the grouping of the thirteen counties of Wales and Monmouthshire into one national area. Mr. Humphreys-Owen was one of the first to see the possibilities that lay in this provision, and took an active share not only in organising a scheme for his own county, but in pressing the movement for establishing, on the basis of the county organisations, a national education board for Wales. Mr. Arthur Acland who, as a resident of Carnarvonshire, had taken a keen interest in Welsh county and public business, was the first chairman

of a series of joint education conferences, which met at Shrewsbury to make arrangements for putting the Act of 1889 in force. When Mr. Acland, in 1892, was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, Mr. Humphreys-Owen succeeded him in the chair of these joint conferences. In 1896 the Central Welsh Board of Intermediate Education was established, with Mr. Humphreys-Owen as its chairman, and the Board of Education treated that Board as responsible for the control of secondary education in Wales. He was one of the earliest friends of the Aberystwyth College, and remained so to the end. He was largely instrumental in founding a school of law at the College and he did much to encourage and direct extension work in agriculture. He was also a member of the governing body of the Bangor College. His was one of the few really dominant minds that decided the broad lines of the Welsh University system. At the outset the supreme question was whether the University should be an examining board like the London University of that day, or an open University like that at Dublin where any outsider might sit at the examination for degrees. When this controversy was at its height I issued, on behalf of the "*Manchester Guardian*," a series of questions on the point to the leading Welsh educationists of that day, and Mr. Humphreys-Owen, like most of his colleagues, gave his judgment decisively in favour of a residential system.

Of his political work, considerable as it was in bulk, I must write more briefly. The subject which most engaged his attention was Welsh Disestablishment. The credit of having laid the modern political plans of the Welsh Disestablishment movement is quite rightly given to Mr. Stuart Rendel, but I know that during the fourteen years in which he represented Montgomeryshire no step of

importance was taken by Mr. Rendel without consultation with Mr. Humphreys-Owen. The qualities of the two men marked them out for different duties. Mr. Humphreys-Owen might be described as another Von Moltke. He was at work in the council chamber reducing ideas to actual plans. Mr. Rendel was a strategist, a diplomatist, a leader of men in the open. They admirably supplemented each other.

In the eighties Liberal federations were formed in North and South Wales, and at a memorable conference held in Aberystwyth in, I think 1887, these federations were united in one Welsh National Council. With the North Wales Federation, Mr. Humphreys-Owen was closely associated from its foundation, and for several years he presided over its executive committee. While this work was going on in Wales itself, Mr. Rendel was engaged in the conversion of English opinion. First one English statesman after another was won, and at last Mr. Asquith's Welsh Church Bill was introduced. It had been preceded a year before by the Welsh Church Suspensory Bill, and it may be interesting to state here that the first resolution embodying and applying to Wales the principle of the Suspensory Bill was proposed at a meeting of the North Wales Liberal Federation by Mr. Humphreys-Owen.

With Mr. Gladstone's political retirement in 1894 Mr. Rendel became a peer, and his place as the Liberal member for Montgomeryshire was taken by Mr. Humphreys-Owen, who continued to represent the county up to his death on December 9, 1905.

The third great question with which Mr. Humphreys-Owen identified himself was that of land reform for Wales. He was himself a landlord, yet in the interests of reform, he supported the demand for a Welsh Land Bill, and actively advocated such a change in the law as

should guarantee political freedom and economic justice to the tenant farmers of Wales. I have before me a striking statement which he issued during the General Election of 1895 on this subject. "I know well," he said, "from experience as a landlord and farmer the deep and unmerited suffering which the fall of prices of agricultural produce has inflicted upon us. Even if it were right and just, I know, and the leaders of the Tory Party have over and over again declared, that it is impossible to attempt to raise by legislation the cost of the food of the people. I repeat what I said last year that the plough should be the first charge on the land. I consider that the farmer should be legally secured in the enjoyment of the fruits of his outlay, his industry, and his skill; that he should not be rented on his own improvements, and that if unreasonably dispossessed of his farm, he should receive adequate compensation for his loss and trouble in moving to a new one. I think, too, that these rights should be placed under the protection of cheap and simple tribunals of conciliation and arbitration, mainly provided by the County Council."

Precisely what attitude Mr. Humphreys-Owen took up on the question of Nationalism he never stated himself. Brought up in the best traditions of early Victorian Liberalism, he remained a Liberal to the end. I do not think the idea of accentuating racial distinctions, merely for the sake of distinction, appealed to him. His nationalism was really based on, or should one say enclosed by, the wider principle of liberty. He dreaded the thought of the great suppressing the small, of strong nations crushing the weak. His ideal seemed to be that of a great Empire, in which all were free to develope for the ultimate good of all, their best and most distinctive qualities. He saw, in the recognition of local variation

with its political corollary of local self government, no menace to the Imperial unity, but rather a guarantee that that unity should be a reality instead of a sham. Thus while he allied himself with the reform party in British politics, he heartily accepted the idea of self-government for Wales, and no one had greater faith in the capacity of the people to manage well their own internal affairs. He was a Liberal in the sense that liberty was the prime and basal principle of his political faith; he was a Welsh Nationalist in the sense that he recognised in the Welsh a people with distinctive qualities and needs and was convinced that it was best, not for Wales only, but for the Empire as well that the government of Wales should accord as closely as possible with the genius of the Welsh mind and character. He sought to promote not the negative side of Nationalism, which represents the withdrawal and isolation of one nation from another, but a positive nationalism, which should develope the qualities and possibilities of each nation up to the highest point, and then bind all together in a bond of mutual toleration, helpfulness, and friendship.

DAN ISAAC DAVIES, B.Sc.

DAN ISAAC DAVIES AND THE BILINGUAL MOVEMENT.

By IFANO JONES, *Welsh Librarian Cardiff.*

"GOD taketh away the worker, but carrieth on the work:" such in indifferent Welsh is the simple legend inscribed on the broken column that marks the resting-place of Dan Isaac Davies in the Cardiff Cemetery. It is the prophetic burden of a song of hope, whose cadences the fragrance of May has wafted for the twentieth time since a weeping nation stood, on the last day of May, 1887, over the open grave of one of her sanest leaders.

The name of Dan Isaac Davies has always stood, and will always stand, for sound common-sense in educational methods, and, as a natural corrollary, for strict fair play for Welsh in Wales. To him, more than to all his inspirers and followers, is due the credit of having secured for the Welsh language the social and official recognition it enjoys to-day. His zeal, while it consumed his own soul and undermined his ever-active constitution, intensified the enthusiasm of the "Young Wales" of his day, and devoured the conventionalities of those who had in vain striven for generations to make Welsh children monoglot Saxons instead of bilingual men and women.

Dan Isaac Davies was born on January 24, 1839, at Llandovery, in Carmarthenshire, where his father (Isaac Davies, a native of Llandybie, in the same county) had settled as a hat manufacturer. He died on May 11, 1857. His wife, whose maiden name was Rachel Charles, survived him till December 11, 1880, when she died at her son's house in Bristol, at the age of sixty-eight.

Like all Welsh Nonconformists in his day, he received his first mental training in the Sunday School, with a Welsh lesson-book and a Welsh Bible for text-books. Later he attended the new local British School, eventually serving in it for rather more than five years as a pupil-teacher. His studious bent and his diligence in the improvement of his mind soon won for him golden opinions all round.

From Llandovery Dan Isaac Davies went to the Borough Road Training College, London. Here that kindly communicativeness so characteristic of him through life was soon in full play among the students from Wales who took Welsh as a subject. In passing, it is interesting to note that as far back as 1849, the Government, by granting a certificate to teachers showing a certain proficiency in Welsh, and by granting annually a sum of money to all teachers in Wales holding such a certificate, recognised the value of the home-language in the day-schools of Wales. This was due to the exertions of Sir Thomas Phillips, Mayor of Newport (Mon.); but, as Dan Isaac Davies put it in giving his evidence before the Education Commission of 1886-7, the "Welsh grant was swept away by the indiscriminate broom of Mr. Robert Lowe's Revised Code" (1862). It was, however, left for Dan Isaac Davies, many years later, to bring about the official recognition of Welsh as a medium of instruction and a subject of study in schools.

Having finished his two years' training at Borough Road, and taken his certificate, he was appointed, in the Autumn of 1858, head master of the Mill Street British School, Aberdare, so dear to many as "Ysgol y Comin." Here he laboured with all the tact, energy, and contagious enthusiasm that the very mention of his name seems to recall. His endeavous were soon crowned with the success

they deserved: the capacious schoolroom was filled with boys and girls and adults from all parts of the valley, their behaviour, hard work, and proficiency establishing the good reputation of the school and its efficient youthful master. During the nine years Dan Isaac Davies laboured in "Ysgol y Comin," he started a considerable number of men and women on successful commercial, professional, and educational careers. Pre-eminently among these stands the learned and conscientious Stipendiary of Merthyr, Sir T. Marchant Williams. He was first a scholar, and then a pupil-teacher, under Dan Isaac Davies. His upward career had its starting-point in "Ysgol y Comin:" there, among the people, as he is of them, he learned with Dan Isaac Davies to know them, and to love them with that consistent, enlightened, and practical passion that has characterised him ever since he left "Ysgol y Comin" for the wider arena of Welsh national life.

Dan Isaac Davies's success in "Ysgol y Comin" was due in part to his practice of allowing his pupil-teachers and monitors to ignore when necessary the absurd hard-and-fast rule of teaching Welsh monoglots in English. He never interfered when his subordinates explained, in the only language understood by a Welsh child, any English word or phrase that might otherwise be lost upon him. Like all great educationists, he believed in common sense as a most valuable aid in educational methods. But it cost him his life in the end to try and make others admit it.

On the January 4, 1865, he was married to Margaret, only daughter of Mr. Jenkyn Edwards ("Llywarch Gwent"), only son of Mr. Thomas Edwards, Y Dyffryn, Blaenau Gwent, the latter being a grandson of Mr. William Edwards, the Pontypridd bridge-builder. The marriage

was solemnized in the Ebenezer Welsh Congregational Chapel, Mill Street, where Dan Isaac Davies had made his religious home while at Aberdare. His connection with Ebenezer was from the very beginning a living one*: as early as December 3, 1858, his name is found on the minute-book of the Band of Hope as its secretary; soon after he accepted the offices of deacon and Sunday-School superintendent; while from 1863 until his departure for Swansea, he acted as the secretary of the church. He also soon threw himself heart and soul, in his own practical way, into the temperance movement in the district, acting for some time as the secretary of the Gwent and Morganwg Temperance Union. Only those who worked closely with him knew the extent and value of his conscientious exertions on behalf of decency of life.

Not content with improving others in school and chapel and town, he continued to improve himself. Upon his arrival at Mill Street, he had set himself the task of graduating in science in the University of London; and by 1862 he had passed his intermediate examination. Seven years later, when at Swansea, he passed his final.

As a schoolmaster he was from the beginning head and shoulders above his fellows in the district, alert, independent in thought, and prompt in action, always living and moving in an atmosphere of his own. His youthful enthusiasm for the education of the people never hesitated, and was never delayed by doubt or fear. Throughout life his ideal was real to him, and his dream an anticipatory fact.

In 1867, Dr. Evan Davies, Principal of the Swansea Normal College, made over by deed his right of possession and control in the institution to Dan Isaac Davies and Mr. William Williams. And to Swansea he went, there, as at Aberdare, to be as alive to needs outside his profession as

* "Hanes Ebenezer," 1898, by Jacob Treharne ("Tiberog").

within it. The Rev. Thomas Rees, D.D., minister of the Ebenezer Welsh Congregational Chapel, Swansea, and Mr. David Davies, timber merchant, had in 1865 leased land in Walter Road to build thereon a chapel for an English Congregational Church; but although they had succeeded in having the foundation-stone publicly laid in 1866, the work was soon at a stand-still from lack of support. When Dan Isaac Davies arrived in the town, he found the new English cause very weak, holding services in the Music Hall; but being at Swansea for work and not for ease, and falling under the influence of the Rev. Dr. Rees and others who persuaded him into the belief that the Welsh language was fast dying out in the land, and that the best course to adopt, for the spread of Congregationalism, was for Welshmen to start English causes, he threw in his lot with the weak, and joined hands with them in a renewed effort to build the chapel. By August 26, 1869, it was opened for worship, with the late Rev. Thomas Jones ("The Poet Preacher") as first pastor.

Dan Isaac Davies, however, was only a few months at the head of the Swansea Normal College, because, as he says in his evidence before the Commission of 1886-7, he became assistant inspector of schools in January, 1868, with the late Mr. Joseph Bowstead for chief. His reason for accepting this post is characteristic: "I see," said he to a friend at that time, "that if I accept this offer, I shall be assisting the teachers of Wales in two ways: I shall prove to the Council of Education in London that the best men to be appointed inspectors are those who themselves know by experience what the work of these schools is, and that the best men for Wales are those who know Welsh and English thoroughly. Besides, I shall not rest until I rise to something higher than an assistant-inspectorship: I shall thereby show to the teachers of Wales that they also may

overcome the obstacles in their way, and become themselves inspectors." This utterance was truly prophetic: his action practically threw open the hitherto closed doors of official inspectorship to elementary school-teachers; and since 1868 "many have been those which have gone in thereat." Among them are several old "Ysgol y Comin" boys.

In 1870 he left Swansea for Cheltenham, where, until 1877, and afterwards at Bristol until 1883, he made his home, while he carried out his duties as sub-inspector of schools in the Gloucester and Bristol district. When he accepted the Merthyr District inspectorship in 1882, the teachers of the district showed their universal appreciation of his kindness and help to them during the years he had laboured among them by presenting him with an illuminated address.

During his sojourn in England he buried the wife of his youth. In 1880 he was married to Mademoiselle Mirault, a cultured French lady, and a member of a respectable Huguenot family. The marriage ceremony was solemnized at St. Denislès-Rebais, Seine-et-Marne, France, where the bridegroom had first met the bride as his sister's French teacher.

In all he spent over thirteen years in England. He left Wales when the Elementary Education Act of 1870 came into force, under the impression that the old language was dying. He returned in September, 1883, to strike against unexpected facts: he found the language better and more widely read and spoken than ever. The people whom in 1870 he believed were selling their birthright for the supplanting Saxon's red pottage, had secured the pottage without losing their birthright. Esau was quits with Jacob. To a man of his temperament—a Celt of the Celts, whose glowing soul was ever accessible to ideas, and

who instinctively allowed them despotic sway once in possession, this fact came home like a revelation from heaven; and being essentially a man that was always growing—always sloughing outworn opinions and beliefs, he resolved from that hour to consecrate himself to the great work of his life—that of utilising the living language of the Welsh people for the perpetuation and improvement of the bilingual state in which he found them. Even in England, whither he had gone despairing of the life of the old language, he loved his countrymen too well to lose sight for a moment of the higher issues of Welsh education. In 1875 Sir Hugh Owen was battling with finance on behalf of the University College of Wales opened at Aberystwyth in 1872. This fact at once appealed to Dan Isaac Davies; and in the summer of the same year, he spent his holidays travelling through the counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke, to publicly appeal to the people, in meetings arranged by himself, for the support the Aberystwyth College deserved.*

In accepting in 1882† the post of H.M. Sub-Inspector of Schools in the Merthyr District, comprising the Unions of Crickhowell and Hay in Brecknockshire, Pontypridd, Merthyr and Bridgend in Glamorganshire, and Bedwellty in Monmouthshire, he stipulated that he should make his home at Cardiff, although it was outside the area of his inspectorship: he was anxious that his growing children should benefit by the educational facilities found in a great town. He foresaw that Cardiff, with its fast growing commerce and population, would soon be the centre of the larger life of Wales in matters educational and political; and for this wider scope, and this closer touch with the national life, his public-spirited soul had

*"Yr Iaith Gymraeg 1785, 1885, 1985," p. 36.
† He did not settle in Cardiff till 1883.

been for some time yearning. Existing conditions, as well as subsequent events, justified the wisdom of his choice. Cardiff's energy in 1882 was young and boisterous, almost unconscious in its non-patriotic cosmopolitanism; national ideals she had none: her very unconsciousness was a concomitant of her intoxication with the cup of material prosperity she had suddenly found full at her lip. True, a few children of the dawn had in 1879 heard the mystic cry of the Bardic Chair of Raglan Castle—"Awake! 'tis day!" and had joined hands with the Welsh literati of the Southern Counties to hold a semi-national Eisteddfod at Cardiff, with that sturdy Cardiff Nationalist, "Cochfarf" (Mr. Alderman Edward Thomas, J.P.), for one of its secretaries. At that Eisteddfod value was set on the Welsh language as an educative instrument: Colonel C. K. Kemeys-Tynte, of Cefn Mabli, had been induced to offer a prize of £20 for the best essay on "The propriety of maintaining the Cymric language, not simply for the strengthening of Welsh nationality, but also for the purpose of aiding the English student in acquiring it," etc. True, too, the first week in August of 1883 saw the grandest, if the most Anglicised, National Eisteddfod held at Cardiff. Dan Isaac Davies was not present at the Eisteddfod; but he read the polished, deliberate speech of the first day's president, the late Marquess of Bute:

"It would have been my wish upon this occasion to have used the British tongue in speaking to you; and that not only from a sense of the propriety of so doing, and as a homage to general culture, but also as a courtesy to yourselves," began that noble patrician. "The scientific study of ethnology, especially assisted by the scientific study of history and of philology, is spreading the knowledge that nature has made race differences which are only eradicable with the races themselves. . . . Seek for a healthy development, not in mimicry and unions based on mediæval phantasmagoria, only less dead than their creators, but in obedience to the genius with which nature has endowed you. . . . The Welsh are the only branch of the Celtic family who are able to greet the homage [of German philological learning] with a

living literature. . . . To know other languages than one's own is an excellent thing, not only as opening the field of intellectual vision, but for the sake of practical convenience (and to most men that is the chief thing) when one is brought into contact with those who do not understand our own. I, for instance, like many other people, have succeeded in acquiring enough French for practical purposes. . . . But I should think myself very ill-advised if I tried to substitute it for my own tongue—silly in myself, vulgar in social intercourse, irreverent in prayer. I would urge you, then, to cling to the language of your fathers, and to seek through it the development of literary power and intellectual culture. But let me urge you to seek it in culture. For a man to speak Welsh, and willingly not to be able to read and write it is to confess himself a boor."

These words fell like flaming sparks upon the dry stubble of Dan Isaac Davies's few remaining doubts as to his attitude towards Welsh: they consumed them—those doubts instilled into his ardent soul by shortsighted people at Swansea, those doubts that had saddened him on his departure for England, those doubts that had, on his return to Wales, withered before the strong, healthy breath of a living language and literature; and the conflagration lit up for him the rugged, lonely path that was to end so gloriously, if so tragically, in an untimely grave.

On October 26, 1883, soon after settling with his family in No. 7, East Grove, the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire was opened at Cardiff, with a genuine Welshman for its Principal (the late Mr. J. Viriamu Jones, M.A.), and an old Llandovery British School-boy (Professor T. Powel, M.A.) holding a Welsh lectureship, which was in March of the following year merged in a professorship of Celtic.

Dan Isaac Davies came to Cardiff, then, in the very nick of time, when half-awakened forces needed practical, logical guidance, and when nationalistic ideals, dimly seen and inadequately understood, needed for their realisation immediate action, enthusiastic, strong, and unceasing.

In his school district, as sub-inspector, Dan Isaac Davies was face-to-face with what, up to his time, had been

generally regarded as the "bilingual difficulty." To him, however, as to Professor Powel, it was not a difficulty, but a great advantage. To remove it was too great a task for him as it had been to his predecessors; he did not, however, attempt to remove it: he simply set himself to the work of converting it into its real essence—advantage. He knew, and believed, that all education has its roots in language; and at once saw that the long and much complained of "difficulty" was merely the result of a foreign, foolish, and unnatural method, and that the manufactured "difficulty," wisely and courageously dealt with, could easily be converted into an advantage. He was delighted with the bilingualism of his countrymen: his plain common-sense concluded that a Welshman possessing a knowledge of both Welsh and English had an advantage over a man possessing a knowledge of English only—not only in Wales, but all over the world, because his mental horizon was wider and more varied in aspect, and because the bilinguist could pick up a third language so much sooner and easier than the monoglot could a second. What stung Dan Isaac Davies to the quick was that officialism, imperial and local, had been so long blind to the ministering angel that alien ignorance had for generations muffled up into an obstructing bogey. And all this error as to the "bilingual difficulty" had been persisted in notwithstanding the repeated outcries of many a departed and living patriot, while no systematic effort had been made to cope with the "difficulty" until the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, in the year in which Dan Isaac Davies returned to Wales, had taken the matter up.

Things were ripe for action. The bilingual movement in day-schools that had had its beginning generations before, had just taken its latest phase, that of a paper read before

the Cymmrodorion at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, on January 25, 1882, on "The necessity of teaching English through the medium of Welsh in elementary schools in Welsh-spoken districts." The author was the Rev. David Jones Davies, M.A., Rector of North Benfleet, and sometime Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Mr. Davies in his paper made it clear that in his opinion "there would be no necessity to teach the children to write Welsh, as the object was not to teach Welsh, but English." While he believed that "a knowledge of English was perfectly compatible with a knowledge of Welsh, and even with an intense affection for it," he ignored the Welsh language and its literature as subjects of study and as essential helps to the study and appreciation of foreign languages and literatures: he concerned himself solely with the material and social advancement of Welshmen through a knowledge of English, thus identical in aim, though not in method, with those Welshmen he condemned for having followed up the "Treason of the Blue-Books" in 1847 with the short-sighted policy of teaching English in all Welsh day-schools through the medium of English by English teachers: his cry, like theirs, was "English for the Welsh at all costs." "Those who loved our nation saw *then*," said he, "no less clearly than we see *now*, that the thing that weighed down our countrymen was ignorance of English. The greatest desideratum is an efficient method of teaching English. . . . No one doubts that the government of a country has the right to choose the language in which its public business shall be transacted; but it imposes upon it the duty of teaching that language to any portion of its citizens who may be ignorant of it." Mr. Davies concludes by asking the Cymmrodorion Society to "unite and make their views known to the Government," and to "organise a movement

for eliciting the views of the various sections of the Welsh public on the important question."

The paper was published the same year in "*Y Cymmrodor*," followed by an article by the editor, Professor Powel, on "What Government is doing for the teaching of Irish," in which it is emphasised that "in 1877 a society was formed in Dublin, called the 'Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language,'" whose petition to the "Commissioners of National Education [in Ireland] to have the language placed in the Government programme as a special subject had been readily granted," the Government granting for each pupil passing a satisfactory examination in Irish the substantial fee of ten shillings. "Thus," says the writer of the article, "with but few of the powerful pleas that can be advanced to support a claim for the recognition of Welsh in the educational programme of the Principality, this society has demanded and obtained from the Commissioners concessions far more important than any Mr. Davies has ventured to claim on behalf of the youth and teachers of Wales. But the Irish Society has gone further, and has successfully urged the importance of directly teaching the native language in Government schools. Is it desirable that the same demand should be put forward on behalf of Wales? To this I answer without hesitation, Yes. And if this is not done, a most valuable means of mental training, lying ready to the hand of the Welsh teacher will continue to be sacrificed. The intellectual advantage of possessing an adequate knowledge and ready command of two languages is simply incalculable. . . . If proper advantage were taken of the peculiar bilingual state of the country, the elementary schools of Wales might be placed at least on an equality, as far as regards the amount of real mental culture imparted, with the middle-class schools of England.

. . . The 'bilingual difficulty,' so much bewailed, might be turned into an invaluable boon. . . . Have we not every right to demand that Welsh, like Irish, should be made an extra subject, and a substantial grant made on account of every 'pass' secured in it?"

The Council of the Cymmrodorion, in view of the importance of the question discussed, decided at once on issuing advance copies of the above paper and article to its members, as well as to others interested in the subject, requesting them to communicate their opinions to the secretary, it being the purpose of the Council, should the views advocated meet with general acceptance, to take further steps in the matter.

And it did.

A short review of the bilingual movement in Wales is here inevitable—is, indeed, essential to the right estimation of this latest effort of the Cymmrodorion on its behalf.

As far back as 1563, in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an Act of Parliament passed then, recognised the failure of the Tudors, like the Plantagenets, to Anglicise Wales. That Act is well-known as the one providing for the translation of the Bible and Common Prayer Book into Welsh; but it is remarkable that the promoters of the Act take exactly the same view of Welsh bilingualism as the Rev. D. Jones Davies, because, while providing that copies of the Welsh Bible and Prayer Book were to be kept in every parish church throughout Wales, it provided also that copies of an English Bible and Prayer Book were to be kept in the same, the said English books "to remain in such convenient places within the said churches, that such as understood them may resort at all convenient times to read and peruse the same; and also such as do not understand the said language may, by conferring both tongues together, the sooner attain to the

knowledge of the English tongue, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding." (Eliz. 5, chap. xxviii.) The great Tudor Queen and her advisers saw that the best and soonest way for a Welshman to acquire English—the "getting-on-in-the-world" language—was not by discarding and suppressing Welsh, but by using and fostering it —not that they, more than all the generations that succeeded them, cared anything about the Welsh language and all it means in literature and culture and spirituality, but because, in common with all after them, they believed the ludicrous heresy that to know barbaric English was to be educated and civilised.

Passing on to 1672, the Rev. Thomas Gouge and his coworkers are busily trying to educate the children of Wales in the English charity schools founded by them up and down the country; but although there were at one time as many as 1,850 Welsh children in the 300 schools founded, and although Welsh Bibles and other books were liberally distributed in them, the instruction was generally imparted in English, and the object was to evangelise the Welsh people and, of course, to teach the younger generation to read English. The Rev. Thomas Gouge died in 1680, having done much good, and leaving Wales much more improved in religion than in education.

In 1730 the Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, had the common-sense and courage to teach the Welsh people in the language best understood by them—their own: in that year he started his Welsh Circulating Schools. With Sir John Phillips, of Picton Castle, to encourage him, and Madame Bridget Bevan, of Laugharne, to support him financially, Griffith Jones, from 1737 to 1760, established 3,185 schools to teach Welsh in Welsh, at which 150,213 persons, young and old, were taught to read and understand the Welsh Bible, Common Prayer Book, and Church

Catechism, while after his death in 1761, up to 1779, when Madam Bevan died, the schools increased to 3,280 and the scholars to 163,838. His method was a complete success: Wales came to herself again, after a torpor of centuries; Griffith Jones's religious instruction, sensibly conveyed and easily acquired, led up naturally to the glorious revival of the mid-eighteenth century, a revival that has not yet by any means spent its stimulating force. But hear Griffith Jones himself:—

"Should all our Welsh books, and our excellent version of the Bible, our Welsh preaching, and the stated worship of God in our language, be taken away, to bring us to a disuse of our tongue? So they are in a manner in some places, the more our misery; and yet the people are not better scholars, any more than they are better Christians, for it. . . . The English charity schools, which have been tried, produced no better effect in country places. All that the children could do in three, four, or five winters—for they could only attend at that period of the year—amounted commonly to no more than to learn imperfectly to read some easy parts of the Bible, without knowing the Welsh of it. Nor this should be thought strange, considering that they were learning to read an unknown language, and had none to speak it but the master, and he too obliged to talk to them often in Welsh; insomuch that those who had been so long in English schools could not edify themselves by reading till many of them lately learned to read their own language in the Welsh Charity Schools."

By 1785, owing to the death of Madam Bevan in 1779, Griffith Jones's schools had fallen to decay; but the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, revived them, organising them on the original lines, and with the same successful results. Thomas Charles, like Griffith Jones, anticipated in method, as well as in reason for it, Dan Isaac Davies and the originators of present day bilingualism in schools. Writing to Mr. Christopher Anderson, of Dublin, in 1811, Thomas Charles says:

"At first, the strong prejudice, which universally prevailed against teaching them to read Welsh first, and the idea assumed that they could not learn English as well if previously instructed in the Welsh language, proved a great stumbling-block in the way of parents to send their children to the Welsh Schools, together with another conceit they had, that, if they could read English, they would soon learn of themselves to read Welsh. But now these idle and groundless conceits are universally scouted. This change has been produced, not so much by disputing, as

by the evident salutary effects of the schools, the great delight with which children attend them, and the great progress they make in the acquisition of knowledge. . . . The time necessary to teach them to read the Bible in their vernacular is short—not exceeding six months in general. . . . Teaching them English requires two or three years' time—during which time they are concerned only about dry terms, without receiving an idea for their improvement. . . . Previous instruction in their native tongue helps them to learn English much sooner—instead of proving, in any degree, an inconvenience."

These successful Welsh schools of Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles did very much to remove the Saxon-begotten prejudice against Welsh as a medium of instruction in day-schools. In 1788, Mr. Owen Hughes (1754—1799), a schoolmaster at Trefddafydd, Penlan, in the parish of Llanychlwydog, Cemmaes, Pembrokeshire, published for the use of his own and other scholars, the first Welsh reading and spelling-book.* This reached its third edition in 1800. Since 1788, and especially since Dan Isaac Davies became naturally, if not unconsciously, the leader of the present-day bilingual movement in Wales, lesson-book after lesson-book, from a penny upwards, on all useful subjects, have poured from the press for the use of the Welsh teacher and scholar, so that the oft-repeated cry of anti-Welsh teachers is either a proof of ignorance or an excuse for laziness. Members of the Summer School of the Welsh Language Society may remember that at the Cardiff meeting in 1905, I had the pleasure of displaying before them scores of these lesson-books from 1788 to date.

By 1800 the modern Welsh Sunday School movement was well afoot; but in a rapid review such as this there is no need to dwell upon its incalculable benefits to Wales and all that is best in the character and culture of her people. Suffice it to say that the Sunday School gave a new and a longer lease to the native language.

* "Allwedd newydd i ddysgu darllain Cymraeg," etc. Carmarthen, John Daniel.

The old prejudice against Welsh, both as a medium of instruction and as a subject of study, still operated; and during the 25 years or so ending in the "Blue-Book Treason" of 1847, Philistinism in educational methods gained the upper hand over Welsh common-sense. The advantage of Welsh bilingualism so practically substantiated by Griffith Jones, Thomas Charles, and the promoters of the Sunday Schools was ignored, and the bogey of the "bilingual difficulty" rehabilitated and re-muffled. There were, however, unmistakable signs of many a noble stand on the part of common-sense educationists.

The great Eisteddfodau of 1819 (Carmarthen), 1820 (Wrexham), 1822 (Brecon), 1823 (Carmarthen), 1824 (Welshpool, Carnarvon and Carmarthen), and 1826 (Brecon), proved themselves a bulwark against the disuse of the Welsh language and its literature and music. Indeed, the Eisteddfod, as an institution, was, up to the opening of the university colleges, THE WELSH UNIVERSITY, and in so far as it emphasises the distinctive features of national life and thought, is still the Welsh PEOPLE'S University.

In 1822 St. David's College, Lampeter, was opened, with Welsh for one of its subjects, although later, in 1851, Sir Benjamin Hall (afterwards Lord Llanover) and the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Archdeacon of Cardigan and Warden of Llandovery College, openly attacked Lampeter for its systematic neglect of Welsh studies.*

In 1826 Messrs. T. Morris and J. Decimus opened a commercial day-school at Bassaleg, with Welsh reading and writing taught as an optional subject. Here is a case of compromise not dreamt of by the Philistines till a much later date.

* "Life of the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D.," 1874, vol. i., pp. 160—209.

In 1832 Richard Hughes, of Penycae, North Wales, published a bilingual handbook on arithmetic, thus recognising the absurdity of expecting a monoglot Welsh child to learn arithmetic without understanding arithmetical terms.

Then on November 22, 1833, a band of intelligent Welshmen formed themselves into a society that since its formation is at the back of all the nationalistic institutions of the nineteenth century. These Welshmen met at Abergavenny, and called themselves "Cymreigyddion y Fenni." Among the distinguished patrons were Lord and Lady Llanover.

In 1834, the Cambrian Society in Gwent and Dyfed, under whose auspices the great Carmarthen and Brecon Eisteddfodau of 1819-26 had been held, held another and a greater at Cardiff, at which Lady Llanover (then Mrs. Augusta Hall) won a prize for the best essay "On the advantage resulting from the preservation of the Welsh language and the national costumes of Wales." Cymreigyddion y Fenni were alive and alert.

In 1837, (according to "*Greal y Bedyddwyr*," 1837, p. 155,) "there had been much talk about the special necessity for Welsh day-schools to teach and instruct youth in our language; but nothing had up to then been done." At that time, however, the writer is "gratified to report that, through the instrumentality of Caradawc [Secretary of Cymreigyddion y Fenni,] a Free Welsh and English School had been opened at Llanwenarth, near Abergavenny, on Easter Monday, where eighty youths were taught Welsh, and that very few of the youths knew Welsh then."

In 1846 the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., published his "Lays from the Cimbric Lyre," in the preface to which he proves himself to be a direct descendant of the line

of Welsh prophets as represented by Griffith Jones and Thomas Charles. He says:

"The greatest error in the existing schools in our rural parishes is . . . not the want of English teaching, . . . but the neglect of teaching Welsh. [Hence,] the eye of the intellect must be dimmed and its edge blunted. . . . Can this be called education? or is it giving the mind of our peasantry fair play?"

And so on, as if he fought shoulder-to-shoulder with Dan Isaac Davies 40 years later. The temptation to quote from one of his patriotic lays on behalf of fair play for Welsh in Wales is too strong:

"Help them, I grant, their onward way along,
But let them murmur still their inland song;
Force not as yet the sea's hoarse tone:
So when they join the ocean where they tend,
By kindlie Nature's teaching they will blend,
And learn its accent from their own."

Right at the very end of the same year (December 28-30, 1846), the teachers of the British Schools in Wales met in a series of conferences at Dolgelley, Merionethshire, at which the first resolution adopted was—

"That an appeal be made to the Cambrian Educational Society [founded and organised by Sir Hugh Owen] for a translation of the 'Daily Lesson Books,' printed every other page with the English. . . . For every hundred that are able to read and write English, not five Welsh children understand it, for reading English in the schools of Wales is but the exercise of parrots."

The year 1847 is to every Welsh patriot a never-to-be-forgotten one: the date "1847" will always stand for the high-water mark of raw anti-Welsh misrepresentation and official ignorance and gullibility. The Report of the Educational Commission published in 1847 is a sorry exhibition of Saxon education and civilisation, in its usual blunt, cocksure manner, passing verdict after verdict upon a people of whose social customs, religion, language, literature and education, they knew next to nothing, and of which they cared less. Poor omniscient ignoramuses!

* "*Cymru*," Mar., 1898, p. 136.

they fell victims to party bias. But it was, after all, a good thing for Wales: the lash of the "Report" roused the sleeping lion in every genuine Welsh heart; and there was a cry for Welsh in day-schools as a medium of instruction,* for Welshmen for Welsh posts, courts, episcopates, and even for a separate judicature. The Commissioners' panacea for Welsh "ignorance" and "immorality" was, of course, the Anglicisation of Wales, although they should have known that the same panacea had proved an almost complete failure in England itself, as well as in the English-speaking districts of Radnorshire, Herefordshire, Pembrokeshire, Montgomeryshire, and Monmouthshire; and Ieuan Gwynedd, David Rhys Stephen, Dr. Price of Aberdare, and others, were not slow to show how favourably Welsh Wales compared with English Wales and English England. Yet, the "*Times*" thundered: "The Welsh language is the curse of Wales."

In these dark days Welshmen saw veritably a sign in the land: on St. David's Day, 1848, at Llandovery, was opened the Welsh Educational Institution, founded by Mr. Thomas Phillips, an 88-year old army surgeon in London, who stipulated, in endowing the institution with his accumulated thousands, that Welsh was to be taught daily in the college. The land for the institution was given by Lady Llanover and Colonel Trevor, the first trustees, while the former had also a hand in securing the building. Some people were thunder-struck at the thought of a college to teach Welsh immediately after the Blue-Book Treason of 1847; but the majority, like the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D., saw nothing in the event but what was quite natural: "The theory of a Welsh institution," said he in his 'Some account of . . St. David's College, Lampeter, 1851,' "in which the highest

* "*Yr Haul*," 1847, p. 79.

and the most general knowledge should be communicated through the medium of the Welsh language has no inherent absurdity." Here, then, was an educational institution founded for the express purpose of preserving and fostering Welsh and its literature; and during the life of its first warden (the late Archdeacon Williams, "the best schoolmaster in Europe," as Sir Walter Scott called him) the purpose was revered; indeed, the late Bishop Basil Jones, of St. David's, simply because he did not know Welsh, was refused as its second warden. But when the present Bishop of St. Asaph became warden, he, in direct contravention of the will of the founder, made Welsh an optional subject, side-by-side with French. Prior to his advent as warden, Welsh was compulsory, the minimum time allowed to it being one hour per day.

In 1849 Sir Thomas Phillips, of Newport, (Mon.), published his valuable work, "Wales: the Language, Social Condition," etc., in which he recommends "that those children whose native language was Welsh, should be so instructed in their own tongue as to read it with understanding." He believed in Welsh in day-schools as a medium and as a subject of study. In 1849, however, the question whether elementary education should be first Welsh and after bilingual was much discussed; and considerable difference of opinion existed. Bishop Thirlwall, for instance, agreed with Sir Thomas Phillips, Lady Llanover, and other Welsh patriots, that Welsh should be both a medium of instruction and a subject of study, although the Church of England National School Society hardly heeded the agitation for Welsh in day-schools.* The late Mr. E. G. Salisbury, M.P. for Chester,

* See the letter of the Rev. W. H. Owen, Canon and Vicar of St Asaph, on Church schools in Wales, in which he complains "that every effort was made to discourage the Welsh language in these schools." ("*Cymru*," 1898, p. 137.)

as well as that eccentric Welshman, the late Rev. J. R. Kilsby-Jones, writing from a purely commercial point of view, expressed their "belief that the extermination of Welsh would be the greatest possible blessing to Wales." But the commercial view is not the Welsh view, neither is it the educational view.

It may be worth while here to note that, as far back as 1849 that calm, prophetic soul, the late Rev. W. Davies, of Ffrwdyfâl Academy, anticipated in suggestive detail the whole fabric of Welsh higher education of to-day. In "*Yr Haul*," 1849, p. 127, he proposes the endowment by Government of two university colleges in Wales—the one in North Wales and the other in South Wales—with £3,000 a year, and £20,000 for building purposes; and suggests that ministerial students should first of all receive their secular education in such colleges, finishing it afterwards in the theological colleges of their respective denominations.

In 1851, again, the bilingual movement is stirring. "A Montgomeryshire Man," writing in "Wants of Wales Considered," 1851, is strong for teaching Welsh children English through the medium of Welsh, and advocates the appointment of thoroughly bilingual teachers. This advocate believed in killing Welsh gently by using it "to Anglicise the people."

From 1854 on the movement bears a truly nationalistic hue. In that year, mainly through the exertions of the Rev. John Williams ("Ab Ithel"), the Cambrian Institute was founded, with the express object of fostering everything peculiarly national in the life of Wales. The institute carried on its work with much success through the medium of the "*Cambrian Journal*" (1854-65), under the editorship of "Ab Ithel"; and its pages glow with patriotic appeal and reason for official and popular recognition of

the Welsh language both as a medium of instruction and a subject of study. Among the foremost, as well as the most interesting, friends of the bilingual movement at the time was the late Mr. James Kenward ("Elvynydd"), a Birmingham Englishman "not Welsh by birth, residence, or connections." Writing in 1858, he says:—

"I do not presume to offer to the Welsh people any scheme of my own for giving effect to "Ab Ithel's" appeal [for assistance and co-operation in carrying out a proposal for offering a prize for the best essay upon the most effectual means of maintaining and extending Cymraeg]. I merely second that appeal as an Englishman."

His articles† read as if they had been written in support of Dan Isaac Davies and his campaign:

"I have called the repressive policy, however it be exercised, short-sighted. . . . The English tongue is certainly well-adapted to business, as it has grown up with business, and the English people must, of course, be gradually brought by time into closer connection with the Welsh people. But, at best, this is an argument for learning English, not for neglecting Welsh. I do not even admit that Welsh is not adaptable to modern business. . . . Let every child in Wales be taught Welsh first. . . . Let him be instructed in English and everything beside through the medium of Welsh. . . . Let the two languages flourish together. . . . This course is to some extent now adopted as circumstances compel, but owing to political repression, to native inertness, and to a want of agreement on the subject, and of system in working out a plan of counteraction, the English element is preponderating, and the Cymraeg is only tolerated, not encouraged. . . . Be zealous in promoting Eisteddfodau, and every other means of strengthening the Cymraeg, and guarding all that it enshrines of music and song. Support any society that will multiply Welsh books, deliver Welsh lectures, promote the free colloquial use of Welsh, and obtain the mitigation of the disabilities which exclude it from too many churches and schools, and from all courts of justice. Use well the English language too, not only for the purposes of life and knowledge, but to vindicate and popularise your cause among your English neighbours. Multiply and support Sunday Schools. . . . I have ever been, since I first knew Wales, an advocate of the duality of language for purposes of business and literature. . . . Cultivate the language, and you will produce great works in it."

"Elvynydd's" suggested policy is in full operation since Dan Isaac Davies set it going.

Passing on to 1862, a very important official document faces us: it is a portion of the "Reports of the Assistant

* "For Cambria," 1868, p. 258, footnote.
† "For Cambria," 1868.

Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of popular education in England," 1861, vol. ii., and was contributed by the late Mr. John Jenkins. It relates to "the Welsh Specimen Districts of the Poor Law Unions of Corwen, Dolgelley, Bala, Ffestiniog, Neath, and Merthyr Tydfil," and foreshadows in detail the whole question as put forth in 1882 by the Rev. D. Jones Davies. The "attempt to give instruction to a child through a language which he does not understand," he considers a "patent absurdity scarcely meriting confutation." He then suggests that "in districts where Welsh is the vernacular tongue, the schoolmasters and other teachers in a public school, whether assistants, pupil-teachers, or monitors, should have a sound knowledge of both English and Welsh, and should give at least the substance of the lessons in the various branches of the school course, in the language in general use. Further, to facilitate the object, books in the principal elementary branches of education should be prepared, with an interlined translation, to enable the scholar to obtain a knowledge of the subject-matter of learning in his own language, and to translate it into English." Mr. Jenkins appends to his report certain evidence obtained by him. Mr. R. D. Pryce, J.P., Trefri, Merionethshire, says curtly: "In schools there should be both languages." The Rev. Osborne Williams, Perpetual Curate of Llanfachreth, says: "Welsh, to some extent, would be decidedly necessary in the schools in this part of the country." The late patriotic Rector of Merthyr (the Rev. John Griffith, M.A.) is emphatic: "It has always been a mystery to me, why the Welsh gentry do not teach their children, or at any rate their heirs and successors, Welsh. I can only account for it in two ways:—Half a century ago it was thought ungenteel to be acquainted with the language of the people. This feeling does not exist now, at any rate, to no great

extent. But there is another evil come in of late, and I know nothing more detrimental to the best interests of the country, and this is the supposition that the Welsh language is dying away, and therefore not needed. . . . The education of the Welsh can never advance if a spurious belief should prevail that the Welsh is dying out. So long as the language remains, it is our duty to foster everything Welsh, not to look upon Welsh as a bar to progress." To the late Rev. Michael D. Jones, of Bala, "the people in places that have ceased to be Welsh seem to become debased by losing their nationality. . . . There seem to have been greater efforts made by the means of English schools to abolish the Welsh language wherever it is used than to educate those parts of Wales where the English is already spoken." Then follow replies from a number of schoolmasters showing the great length of time it took Welsh children to acquire English through the medium of a foreign tongue.

Above all, Wales's sweetest singer is heard carolling in clear tones the conviction that in every true Welsh heart was ripening for leadership and guidance. Sang "Ceiriog" in "Oriau'r Bore," 1862—

"Llewelyn bach, tyr'd yma,
Ac ar fy neulin dysga
Iaith dy fam yn gyntaf un,
Ac wedyn iaith Victoria;
Ac na foed mam yng Nghymru mwy
Heb siarad y ddwy—siaradwch y ddwy."

Another feather that shows the direction in which the wind blew in 1861, is the fact that Bishop Thirlwall offered a prize of three guineas at the Carnarvon National Eisteddfod of that year for the best essay on "The best mode of teaching the English language to Welsh children in English day schools." The prize essay, by Mr. Edward Hughes, a schoolmaster at Llechryd, and afterwards at

Swansea, was published in "*Yr Eisteddfod*," 1864, vol. i., and is a good practical attempt. The essay emphasises the need of "teachers acquainted with the Welsh, and properly qualified to teach the English language," and of manuals in spelling, translation, and composition: "As the object is to make the Welsh an English-talking people, and not to denationalize them, the casting of ridicule upon the native language is strongly deprecated, as tending not to denationalize only, but also to demoralize. The Welsh is loved—the English but desired; it cannot, therefore, be right to destroy a virtue for the sake of an instinct."

Following this essay, in November of the same year (1864), Mr. James Jones, master of the Free School at Bala, published his "Few Plain Hints and Suggestions on Teaching English in (Welsh) Country Schools." This work was revised by Bishop Thirlwall. While Mr. Jones did not believe that "children should receive nearly all their instruction and training at school through the medium of their own language, and that the study of English should form a special branch," he condemns the "exclusive use of English for conveying knowledge of things and words" as a "plan quite at variance with the principles and rules of modern teaching." The little book ends with "Arguments for using the Welsh as an aid in teaching English," taken from the evidence of the Rev. James Williams, B.D., Rector of Llanddeusant, Anglesey; Mr. John Jenkins, the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, Bishop Thirlwall, Earl Granville, the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, and Mr. Joseph Fletcher.

The next year (1865) saw another schoolmaster's attempt at coping with the language difficulty. This one again takes the form of a little manual, entitled, "Y Rhawd Cyntav o Gymraeg a Seisneg." The First Course of

Welsh and English, being a graduated series of inductive lessons in both languages. By Job Richards, schoolmaster, Pontvathew." The plan of this manual is that of Hall's "First French Course." Mr. Richards "having tried it for months, to his entire satisfaction, in his own school, . . . now offers it to the public, hoping that he is thereby doing some service to the cause of education in the Principality." And so in sooth he was.

The year 1872 saw the opening at Aberystwyth of the first University College of Wales, with Welsh as one of the subjects of study.

In 1881 the two prize essays of the Cardiff Eisteddfod of 1879, on "The propriety of maintaining the Cymric language, not simply for the strengthening of Welsh nationality, but also for the purpose of aiding the English student in acquiring it," etc., were published. These lead up the whole movement to its latest phase in 1882, as put forth by the Rev. D. Jones Davies and the Cymmrodorion, and as carried to such a successful issue by Dan Isaac Davies.

The paper of the Rev. D. Jones Davies and the article of Professor Powel in "*Y Cymmrodor*" for 1882 excited little comment. In 1884, however, Professor Powel returned to the attack, and communicated a second paper on the same subject to a meeting of the society held on the 1st of May, which was attended by many members from Wales as well as from the London district. In view of the marked attention that the subject seemed at last to arouse, and the evident favour with which Professor Powel's propositions were received, the council of the society at its next meeting appointed a sub-committee to make enquiries into (*a*) the extent to which the system of teaching described by Mr. Davies in his paper prevailed at the time, (*b*) the favour with which Mr. Davies's

suggestion would be regarded by those personally conversant with modern elementary education in Wales, and (*c*) the opinions of the same persons with regard to Professor Powel's proposal. As a first stage in the enquiry, the sub-committee submitted seven questions to a number of gentlemen from whom, at the outset, it was considered that information might be most readily obtained. Dan Isaac Davies was one of those who replied; and his keenness of observation is evident: "It is a common mistake to suppose that the introduction of Englishmen lowers to a corresponding degree the proportion of the Welsh-speaking population of the Principality. There are numerous instances in which the new settlers have learnt to speak Welsh, and many more in which their children know Welsh better than English." The cautious, conciliatory bilinguist, too, is unmistakably felt: "It would not be possible to insist on the adoption of the Welsh language as the language of ordinary instruction in the lower standards in schools in Welsh-speaking districts, because many of the teachers cannot speak Welsh, and because all the members of a classroom in Welsh-speaking districts do not speak Welsh." Then he quotes from the Educational Code just issued, that "in districts where Welsh was spoken the intelligence of the children examined in any elementary or class subject might be tested by requiring them to explain in Welsh the meaning of passages read." This concession on the part of the Government he "finds an important one, as many a child had satisfied him by an answer in his native tongue when he lacked the ability to express himself in English. The inspector ought to be familiar with colloquial Welsh. It was possible to teach the reading and writing of the Welsh language as separate or distinct subjects of instruction in schools in Welsh-speaking districts, side by side with the reading and

writing of English, as a specific subject under Art. 16, b. ii. It was advisable, if suitable books be prepared. The Education Department offered to accept any subject other than those mentioned in Art. 16, b. ii., provided a graduated scheme of teaching be submitted to, and approved by, the inspector? Why should not Welsh be one?"

The Cymmrodorion printed the "Preliminary Report upon the Use of the Welsh Language in Elementary Schools in Welsh-speaking Districts, by a Sub-committee of the Council" in time for discussion at one of the meetings of the society held in connection with the Liverpool National Eisteddfod, September, 1884. Dan Isaac Davies was now a member of the National Eisteddfod Association, and was present at its annual meeting in Liverpool on September 17, 1884. He was also a member of the Cymmrodorion Society, and present at its meeting there on the following evening, at which his special qualities for leadership were well brought out: he would have them, as friends of the Welsh language, avail themselves first of the privileges already offered them in the then existing code: he observed that "the question was a very serious one, and one not lightly to be dealt with. But if Welsh was to be taught in the day-schools, where were the teachers? Until they could place competent Welsh-speaking men and women in the schools in which they wished to take up Welsh as a matter of instruction the time would not be ripe for the change they proposed. He wished to be practical, and could see certain branches of the work which could be done at once. The teaching of Welsh might be dealt with in the upper classes as a special subject, as bee-keeping was taught in certain parts of England. Under the Mundella Code grants were given not only to day-schools but to

night-schools, and in the night-schools the teachers who were not allowed to take up any of the lower standards could teach Welsh as a specific subject. He might further remark that in the night-schools teachers of specific subjects did not need to have certificates."

From that important meeting, which unanimously approved of the action of the Cymmrodorion in making a preliminary enquiry, Dan Isaac Davies marched into the van of the bilingual movement in Wales: he felt he had had a mandate to do something "practical at once;" and consequently he found that he must fall into line with all existing Welsh institutions and movements, and utilise them in accomplishing the difficult task he had undertaken. Hitherto he had been indifferent to the Eisteddfod as an educational agency; but at another meeting of the Cymmrodorion, held the following evening, he was there, the subject for paper and discussion being "Eisteddfod Reform."

By December of the same year, the nationalistic spirit in Cardiff, awakened by the Eisteddfod of 1879, and strengthened by that of 1883, had moved the hearts of its increasing friends to issue a circular to sympathisers in South Wales and Monmouthshire expressing the "long felt want of means for gathering and consolidating patriotic sympathies and national efforts," and for forming a society with that object. This circular convened a meeting, which was held at the Town Hall, Cardiff, on January 14, 1885. Archdeacon Griffiths, who was in the chair, touched upon the pressing need of devising "special means" to teach the children "sufficient Welsh to enable them to make use of the language for educational and religious purposes." The meeting at once resolved itself into the nucleus of a society to be called "The Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire;" and on

the 28th of the same month, at the same place, the provisional committee met to draw up the rules, etc. On March 2, in the afternoon, the first general meeting of the society was held at the Town Hall. Rules, etc., were adopted, and a council elected, of which Dan Isaac Davies was a member. The secretary was the secretary of the 1883 Eisteddfod, the late Mr. D. Tudor Evans.

Dan Isaac Davies was now in the full glare of the public eye as the leader and first prophet of the bilingual movement, while his activities by means of talks, speeches, papers, correspondence, and committees were ceaseless.

On January 30, 1885, he was at a public meeting, held at the Tabernacle English Congregational Chapel, Aberdare, by a deputation from the National Eisteddfod Association to the committee of the Aberdare National Eisteddfod to be held in August of that year. Dan Isaac Davies moved a resolution to the effect that the meeting rejoiced in the fact that the National Eisteddfod was to be held at Aberdare, and called upon all friends to support its promoters. In his enthusiastic speech he, of course, took occasion to press forward the claims of bilingualism. With Archdeacon Griffiths, Clwydfardd, Stephen Evans, Vincent Evans, and others, was Sir (then Mr.) Marchant Williams, who remarked in his own incisive manner that "the ability to speak Welsh was one of the luxuries of his life." And Dan Isaac Davies would have not been at this Aberdare meeting but for Sir Marchant who, with the deputation from the National Eisteddfod Association, had that day met Dan Isaac Davies at the Abercynon railway station on his way home to Cardiff, and had persuaded him to return with them to the meeting as the now acknowledged leader of the bilingual movement. The old "Ysgol y Comin" scholar had, since the Liverpool

Eisteddfod of 1884, declared that his once schoolmaster was the man for leadership and guidance; but, as he had told him more than once before, he told him again at Abercynon that he should keep in yet closer touch with existing national institutions. Sir Marchant never had a more thorough convert.

The Cymmrodorion and their sub-committee of enquiry were still active; and at a meeting of the members held in London on April 16, 1885, Dan Isaac Davies read a paper on "Bilingual Wales," of which a summary was published in the "*South Wales Daily News*," "*Western Mail*," and other papers. About this time, too, he read the same paper before the Young People's Society of Charles Street English Congregational Church, Cardiff. This paper was a most important one, and proved that Dan Isaac Davies had taken up the question in all earnestness, and that he had set his mind on nothing less than complete success. It was this paper that led up to the formation of that most practical piece of machinery, the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language. As he foresaw, public opinion must be organised to be effectual.

Meanwhile, by personal interviews with all sorts of people, rich and poor, educated and unlettered, Welsh and foreign, wherever he chanced to meet them, whether in street, or train, or school, or restaurant, Dan Isaac Davies carried on the work that seemed to be his very life. The well-known Welsh weekly, "*Baner ac Amserau Cymru*," for June—August, 1885, contain a series of nine articles from his pen, which were twice republished in pamphlet form under the title, "1785, 1885, 1985! Neu, Tair Miliwn o Gymry Dwy-leithog mewn Can Mlynedd," *i.e.*, "Three Million Bilingual Welshmen in a Hundred Years."

These remarkable articles arrested at last the fleeting

attention of the Welsh people. Prophet after prophet had raised his voice on behalf of common-sense in Welsh educational methods, and had attracted chance passers-by who, after listening a while, with more curiosity than sympathy, had gone their way in moods varying between apathy and antagonism, or between despair and cynicism: to the majority the voice was but the cry of despair —not a call to repentance; to the rest it was the shriek of the faddist—not the voice of the prophet. And, fair play to the people, they were not wholly to be blamed: prophet after prophet had appealed, not to them, but to those above them socially and officially, while prophet after prophet had called those to himself "in the wilderness," instead of going himself to them in their villages and towns. But in these popular articles of Dan Isaac Davies, the people found neither faddist nor prophet—neither zealot nor Herodian, but a teacher and friend that lived and moved among them, and one whose amiable and fascinating personality was irresistible. He button-holed the whole nation, as he had already button-holed so many individuals. He had the "glittering eye" of Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," from which there was no getting away. These articles of his prove how well he had thought out his plan of campaign; how reasonable his proposals, and how practical his means of carrying them into effect. The recruiting sergeant and organiser persuades in every paragraph, while towards the end of the series the organiser of means and forces of all description is in full view. Dan Isaac Davies was one of those leaders who believe in the salvation of a people by and through the people themselves. His policy was quite clear: it was that of the educationist pure and simple. As such he stood for bilingualism in Welsh education, not as a means of preserving Welsh, but of utilising it as a

handy, wieldy instrument of education. He was a bilinguist, not from a fond sentiment for his mother-tongue, but from a conviction that bilingualism was the easiest, shortest cut to polylingualism, and therefore to success in commerce, philology, culture, character and healthy patriotism. His aim, "in carefully considering whether it was possible to alter our plan of national education was not to keep the language alive, but to promote the welfare of the Welshman. "If," says he in his article dated June 16, 1885, "we find that Welsh harms us, away with it; that is, *if we can away with it* [the italics are his]. 'But if by it we can step upwards to commercial prosperity, not to mention the advantages we may receive through it in matters of much more importance, we shall add to the influence of its ever-living charm a deep conviction of its value as a branch of secular education and of its daily and perennial usefulness." In his article dated June 18, he suggests that certain questions as to the ability to speak Welsh and English in Wales should be submitted to the people in the 1891 census. He then expresses his hatred of apologetic Welsh-speaking Welshmen—those fashionably vulgar creatures that have a horror of their persistent Welsh accent, that resent English which smacks of the leek, that are as blind to the inherent beauty of the Welsh accent as they are ignorant of its phonetic consistency, and that are foolish enough to believe that ignorance of Welsh is more to be proud of than the knowledge of the Welsh Welshman of both Welsh and English. Face-to-face with this absurd pride in ignorance, Dan Isaac Davies pertinently asks: "Is it not possible to make Welsh more fashionable?" And ever since then, thanks to the untiring efforts of Dan Isaac Davies's greatest and most brilliant disciple and successor, the newly-appointed Chief

Inspector of the Welsh Education Department (Mr. Owen M. Edwards, M.A., who by example and precept, and through his many books and periodicals, has so successfully carried on the work), a knowledge of Welsh is a subject of pride.

Dan Isaac Davies in these articles does not confine to education his belief in bilingualism: he would have it everywhere in Wales, and even in England where needed. By July 8 he is very anxious to republish his articles in pamphlet form in time for their distribution before the coming National Eisteddfod at Aberdare in August. He looks forward to that gathering as the one that was to receive the report of the Cymmrodorion sub-committee on the question next his heart—a report that would approve of his suggested plan of campaign and recommend the formation of the society that was so essential. Not content with the support of the people and the national societies, he must "know whether the political parties were likely to look after the Welsh language in the future. Was it their intention to make Welsh a part of the Welsh educational system, elementary and higher? Did the people intend pressing the matter upon the attention of the candidates at the coming General Election? Let party leaders make it clear to the country that Welsh was to have the same fair play in the day-schools as Irish in Ireland. He stood on neutral ground, ready to receive good things for the Welsh language and the Welsh nation from both directions." Writing from Llandybie, August 12, he declares that "North Wales, Mid Wales and South Wales felt one and all the necessity for adapting our system of education, in all its details, to our country's peculiar condition." In the last article, dated August 19, he is full of the coming Aberdare meeting, advocating organisation as the one thing needed, entreating the support of Welsh teachers, suggesting

a collective investigation committee composed of teachers, praising Sir Marchant Williams for encouragement and Sir (then Dr.) Isambard Owen and others for counsel, thanking the numerous writers of all sorts in Welsh and English periodicals and papers that had taken the matter up so favourably, and expressing his obligation to his chief (Mr. William Edwards) and his colleagues (Messrs. John Rees and Gomer Jones—two old "Ysgol y Comin" boys again) for taking over "the lion's share of his official work during the preceding six months, so as to enable him to do greater justice to the patriotic cause in which the four of them felt special interest." "His object was to induce others, who were more persuasive as writers, more eloquent as orators, and more influential as public men, to take up the work." And well he succeeded.

On August 19, he was at Llangwyddfan, Llandybie, writing a preface to his "*Baner*" articles in pamphlet form. "Two things," writes he, "I hope to see this year—(1) The formation of a society to organise means of making such a rational use of Welsh in our schools of all grades as will raise us to a higher standing among other nations; (2) a resolve in the new electors [under the Enfranchisement Act of 1884] not to send any Member to Parliament without informing him of the formation of such a society, and of the fixed purpose of the Welsh nation to secure the success of the national movement. 'Would you have us vote for Welshmen only?' inquires somebody. Nothing of the kind. A different policy will succeed better: when an Englishman, or a Scot, or an Irishman, settles in Wales, our aim should be to win him over to our side. Our question ought to be—not 'Do you know Welsh?' but 'Will you take care that your children, your grandchildren, and your great-grandchildren, get opportunities of learning Welsh?' In all probability, there will be more than three

million people in Wales in 1985: will they all have a common Welsh sentiment, and will many of them know Welsh? That is the goal which I would that we, as a nation, strive to reach."

To the national quarterly, "*Y Geninen*," for July, 1885, he contributed a telling article on "Bilingual Wales"—the first Welsh article he had ever written, while later in the "*Western Mail*" for August 4, 7, 11, 17, 19 and September 2 he reviews the whole position in a series of masterly letters on "The Utilization of the Home Language of Wales."

The same year (1885) that saw Dan Isaac Davies among the people enlisting their sympathy with and support to the bilingual movement, saw also the Cymmrodorion canvassing the opinions of the teachers. During March and April 628 of the 1,400 question papers sent out by them were returned filled in with replies, of which 339 favoured the movement, 257 opposed it, and 32 were neutral. The majority of 82 was very gratifying and encouraging to the Cymmrodorion and Dan Isaac Davies, as also it was to the unusually large audience, including many members of School Boards, teachers of elementary schools, and others directly interested in education, assembled at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion held at the Temperance Hall, Aberdare, on the third morning of the National Eisteddfod of 1885 (August 25-28). At that meeting it was enthusiastically resolved that it was desirable a society should be formed to promote the utilisation of the Welsh language in education. The following day, August 28, twenty of those most interested in the question joined Dan Isaac Davies in forming themselves into a society that was, at a second meeting held at Aberdare on September 19, called "The Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language," now known as "The Welsh Language Society." This society was fully pledged to carry into effect the policy of Dan

Isaac Davies. Archdeacon Griffiths was the first president, and Mr. Beriah Gwynfe Evans, the secretary. Dan Isaac Davies, like his official chief and colleagues, although elected on the council, had to refuse office owing to instructions from the Education Department.

This society, that owes its existence to the untiring zeal, tact, and self-sacrifice of Dan Isaac Davies, was first suggested by Mr. Henry Tobit Evans, J.P., who wrote immediately on reading in the "*South Wales Daily News*" a summary of Dan Isaac Davies's paper on "Bilingual Wales" before the Cymmrodorion on April 16, 1885, thanking the author for what he had done, and telling him that the hour for moving in that direction had struck. And Dan Isaac Davies was man enough to acknowledge it in his ninth article in the "*Baner*." He never strutted in borrowed plumes.

By October 22 the laws of the society were enacted at the first general meeting held at Cardiff; and in the evening a public meeting was held, at which thanks were accorded the Cymmrodorion for their thorough enquiries, and for permitting the society to append to its title the words, "in association with the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.

Dan Isaac Davies has practically now at his back a united Wales; and his enthusiasm is at white heat, as his activities are ceaseless. Early in the autumn of the same year he is at Cardiff addressing the Cambrian Society on his all-absorbing topic, "The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Schools and Colleges," adding new facts and arguments, and strengthening old ones.

Side-by-side with the national movement there is a more or less local one in the form of Cymmrodorion societies. Organisations on the model of the parent one in London sprang into existence in the autumn of 1885, in Liverpool,

Cardiff, Swansea, and other places; and it is impossible to rightly estimate their great influence in the national life since. The Liverpool Welsh National Society had a discussion on December 15 on the utilization of the Welsh language in elementary schools, opened by Dan Isaac Davies.

On October 24, twelve Welshmen met in the sitting-room of the "Gordon"—Cochfarf's well-known Temperance Hotel in Custom-House Street, Cardiff, the late Dafydd Morgannwg in the chair; and they formed themselves into what is now admitted to have been ever since the mainstay of Welsh nationalism in the city—the Cardiff Cymmrodorion. These twelve Welshmen, dissatisfied with the almost exclusive use of English in all correspondence, committees, and meetings of the Cambrian Society, seceded to found a society on lines which would appeal to the real Welshman—the Welsh-speaking Welshman. The new society's motto was "Popeth yn Gymraeg" ("Everything in Welsh"), and its great object "to unite the Cymry of the town in a national sense irrespective of party or sect." The chairman, Dafydd Morgannwg, was elected first president, Dan Isaac Davies one of the vice-presidents, and Mr. Evan Owen, J.P., secretary. From the beginning success followed the little Welsh society, and although the Cambrian Society had 180 members' names on its register by the end of its first year, and was able to hold several meetings during the winter of 1885-6, the transactions of which were published in 1886, it never lived to publish a second volume. Dan Isaac Davies was not present at the first meeting of the Cardiff Cymmrodorion; but he readily accepted office, and was soon aflame for its success, attending its committees and fortnightly meetings, and oftener than not, in the absence of the president, occupying the chair, now leading the van in

attack, and then engrossed in strengthening ranks and fortifications.

The year 1886 opens hopefully for him and his campaign: all the Welsh national societies are in full working order, and there is a demand for a second edition of his "1785, 1885, 1985!" The achievements of 1885, as he recounts them in his greeting, "To the Cymry everywhere," urge him on to still greater ones: "The opening eyes of 1886," says he, "fall at once on the Royal Commission on Elementary Education in England AND WALES [the small capitals are his]. Among its twenty-one members I see the leader of the Welsh Party—the experienced and warmhearted Cymro, Henry Richard, Esq., M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil. He is always ready to serve his fellow-countrymen. The fault will lie at the door of the Cymry themselves if the defects of the present system of education, and the means of adapting it to the real needs of the Land of the Hills, should not be clearly shown through the Representative of Wales." How alert he was! and how politic in his self-effacement when he next says, "It is well that the Welsh Language Society is ready to lead the nation in this direction." It was he who, by inspiring and leading the society, was "ready to lead the nation"—anywhere and everywhere for victory. Self-effacement was always a part-and-parcel of his successful policy: high places and honours he never coveted: what he wanted was work and opportunities for work, and peace from official interference to do it.

By the beginning of March he was in possession of facts that constrained him to add yet another organisation to those already directed by him in the conversion of the bilingual "difficulty" into a national advantage: in an English town like Cardiff he saw that much of the work done by the Cymmrodorion and the Welsh Language

Society was Sunday after Sunday neutralised by the short-sighted practice of conducting Welsh Sunday School classes in English. Dan Isaac Davies felt that he must without delay contrive to win over this enemy, and make an ally of him. Accordingly, with the consent of several Sunday School superintendents, during the last week of March he issued a circular to all the Welsh Sunday Schools of the town, requesting them to send representatives to a meeting to be held on April 3 in the vestry of the Pembroke Terrace Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel. Eight of the thirteen schools responded, their representatives evincing great unanimity and enthusiasm. The Rev. J. Morgan Jones was in the chair. To secure the co-operation of the five absent schools, the meeting was, however, postponed until April 17. At this second meeting all the schools were represented, and it was resolved to form the Cardiff Welsh Sunday School Union. Then, committee after committee, and meeting after meeting, were held, under the presidency of Professor (now Principal) T. F Roberts, M.A., to deal with details; and draft rules, etc., were printed and distributed in the schools. In less than two months, at a meeting held on May 22, the new organisation was a living fact, with Professor Roberts for president, and Dan Isaac Davies for secretary. The main object of the Union was to make Welsh the language of instruction in all Welsh Sunday Schools in the town. As helps to bring about this desirable state of affairs, the Union appealed to Welsh parents to make Welsh the language of the home; it also arranged Welsh singing festivals, and Welsh examinations in Scripture, reading, and composition, and appointed Dan Isaac Davies and Professors Powel and Roberts to prepare an elementary eries of bilingual lessons.

By April 22, 1886, the Welsh Language Society had presented to the Royal Commission on Elementary Education a memorial replete with incontrovertible facts and arguments in favour of the introduction of Welsh into the system of Welsh education. The getting up of this most useful document must have cost Dan Isaac Davies and the excellent secretary of the society, Mr. Beriah Gwynfe Evans, a vast amount of labour and anxiety. Appended to the memorial are schedules of suggested schemes for (*a*) Welsh as a class subject, and (*b*) Welsh as a specific subject. But previous to the presentation of the memorial, Dan Isaac Davies, through his official chief, Mr. W. Edwards, had obtained the sanction of the Education Department to the introduction of Welsh as a specific subject. The popularity of the innovation was shown by the fact that in the schools of one School Board (Gelligaer) nearly 250 children were at the time studying the subject with marked progress.

On May 21 the Cardiff Cymmrodorion held its first annual meeting, at which Dan Isaac Davies was re-elected one of the vice-presidents. All through that summer the Cymmrodorion continued their work with success. On July 16 Dan Isaac Davies delivered a practical address on the systematic and business-like sale of Welsh publications. One of his suggestions was the establishment of a general book depôt for Wales.

September to December were busy months for him and his organisations: on September 10 the Cardiff Cymmrodorion passed a strong resolution, calling the attention of the people and all Boards of Guardians in Glamorgan to the inadequate provision of bilingual officers at the Bridgend Asylum, and urging them to appoint in future Welsh-speaking officers, other qualifications being equal. This created a general stir; and for weeks the whole

question of Welsh for Wales was much discussed in the press and on public bodies and public platforms. Soon after a stipendiary was wanted at Cardiff; and the Cymmrodorion were at once to the front with a memorial to the Home Secretary and another to the Cardiff Corporation, urging the appointment of a bilinguist. And they succeeded. In all this public work the Welsh Language Society heartily co-operated.

The National Eisteddfod of 1886 was held at Carnarvon, September 13—17. Dan Isaac Davies was not present; but his spirit pervaded the gatherings of the Cymmrodorion. At their first meeting Dr. (now Sir) Isambard Owen, speaking on "Race and Nationality," wound up a learned and eloquent address with a reference to the bilingual movement and its great future. Their second meeting on the following morning, presided over by the late Dr. Herber Evans, was wholly given to the reading of a paper by Mr. Ellis J. Griffith (now M.P.) on "The Utilization of the Welsh Language in Education," and to a discussion of it. The Rev. Evan Jones, of Carnarvon, moved, the late Mr. T. E. Ellis, M.P., seconded, and the meeting unanimously resolved, to cordially approve of the action of the Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language, and the general features of its programme, as laid down in the memorial presented by them to the Royal Commission; and to urge upon her Majesty's Government the necessity of an early attention to the subject.

Christmas Day found the Cardiff Cymmrodorion with their arrangements complete for a grand Welsh Eisteddfod at Wood-Street Chapel. Among the subjects were (1) an essay on "The Claims of Wales for the Administration of the Law in the Language of the People," (2) "A Welsh Book of Stories from the History of Wales, for the use of Standard III.," and (3) "A Collection of ten Action Songs,

original or selected, with from four to six simple Welsh verses, for the use of children under seven years of age." These subjects mirror the national movement that then seemed to have absorbed all the energies and enthusiasm of every thoughtful Welshman in the land. Dan Isaac Davies was one of the adjudicators; he was also, characteristically enough of the handy man ready to do anything for the cause that had enslaved him, one of the four Cymmrodorion who received admission tickets on the floor. The Eisteddfod that had cost him and the society many months of labour in committees, correspondence, and personal visits, proved a grand success in every respect; and the nationalistic movement in Cardiff was a thing to be henceforth respected and fostered.

As secretary of the Cardiff Welsh Sunday-School Union, Dan Isaac Davies also prepared, with the co-operation of the executive, a syllabus of examination, for distribution in the schools; arranged the school visits of certain members of the executive; petitioned the British and Foreign Bible Society for a cheap edition of a diglott New Testament; and carried through with a gusto the work of holding the first singing festival of the Union on November 24.

St. David's Day, 1887, was celebrated at Cardiff in true Cymric style: it was, indeed, a national festival. The 1st of March, with its conventional banquet and English speeches, was left to the Cambrian Society, the Cymmrodorion and all who wished to come (because all had been heartily invited) sitting down to a sixpenny tea in the afternoon of the following day, to gather together in the evening to a great public meeting at the Tabernacle in which Christmas Evans had preached between 1828 and 1832. The Mayor, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Morgan Morgan, was in the chair, and for hours

the awakened national spirit revelled in native song and speech.

At a meeting of the Cardiff Cymmrodorion on April 8, Dan Isaac Davies delivered a speech on the "Colleges of Wales," in which he congratulated the authorities upon their wisdom in including Welsh in their respective curricula; and in proposing to memorialise the University of London for the same position to Welsh as that given by them to French, German, Sanskrit, and Arabic. Resolutions to that effect were then passed, copies of which were afterwards sent to all concerned.

Dan Isaac Davies never felt more gratified in his life than when he heard that his suggestion, made early in 1886, to insert the subject of bilingualism in the syllabus of points of enquiry, had, through the exertions of Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., been adopted by the Royal Commission on Education in 1886-7. On April 19, 1887, Dan Isaac Davies and the other representatives of the bilingual movement were called upon to give evidence before the Commission, which they did with telling effect, thanks to Mr. Richard, who knew Wales well enough to know how to ask a pertinent question. Rector Lewis of Merthyr, of course, opposed his fellow-countrymen, and played well into the hands of the Philistines: here is one of his reasons:—

"One can see that [the introduction of Welsh into day-schools] is an experiment. . . . We have had more than one experiment in the interest of the Welsh people. The Sunday Closing Bill, for instance; the driving out from the elementary schools the teaching of religious restraints as taught by the Catechism; hence all the youthful depravity to be seen in Wales in the present day."

But the Rector's brutal treatment of Wales and her language, her literature, and her patriots, carried no weight with the majority of the Commissioners: the moderate demands of the Welsh Language Society, as

set forth in the evidence of Dan Isaac Davies and his friends, prevailed; and the Report of the Commission, published in 1888, endorsed in its recommendations almost every point asked for, while the Welsh Sunday Closing "experiment" is to-day admitted by even the atheists of Paris to be one of the triumphs of modern sociology.

Immediately after his appearance before the Education Commission, Dan Isaac Davies contracted a severe cold. This, not reckoned with by him in his victorious rush through the daily difficulties of his profession to cope with those of national organisation in all kinds of committees and personal interviews, gradually overpowered his now delicate constitution, and developed into a severe attack of pneumonia. Rest he would not: was he not busily engaged at the time in collecting and compiling facts and figures bearing upon the Bill for Welsh Intermediate Education then before Parliament, with a view to placing them before a meeting of the Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire? did not the Cardiff Cymmrodorion need his assistance in drafting a new constitution? and were not the first Scriptural examinations of the Cardiff Welsh Sunday School Union to be held on May 21? Contrary to medical advice, he needs must attend the sub-committee of the Cymmrodorion at the "Gordon" to see the new constitution well drafted. In a week he was laid up seriously ill, and hopelessly unable to be present at the Sunday School examinations so well arranged by him as secretary and examiner. On his death-bed, nevertheless, he heard with a boyish joy, that all had passed off with more success than he had expected; while on the eve of his dying day—that dark 28th of May, 1887—the Cymmrodorion, at a general meeting, adopted the new constitution that was almost of his own drafting.

The news of his unexpected death came as a thunder-shock to the whole of Wales, and the nation was plunged in sorrow. The day following his death being Sunday, a large and influential meeting of Welshmen representing the Cymmrodorion and the Sunday School Union, met in the afternoon to arrange his funeral on the following Tuesday. And what a funeral it was! Cardiff had never seen such an one. Superintending the arrangements was the host of the "Gordon," one of the dead chieftain's most faithful warriors, "Cochfarf" (now Mr. Alderman Edward Thomas, J.P., and one of the ex-mayors of Cardiff.) Following the old Welsh custom, Christmas Evans's Tabernacle was thronged by two o'clock in the afternoon, to hold a memorial service. Professor Roberts was in the chair; the "Old Hundredth" was sung with tearful voices; and Principal Viriamu Jones and several others eulogised the dead and his wonderful achievements. Then, the congregation filed out into the heavy rain that seemed to mingle with their tears and remind them of Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch's sublime elegy to Llywelyn the last Prince, in which he imagines Nature sorrowing and mourning with him for his fallen leader:

"Poni weli di hynt y gwynt a'r glaw?
Poni weli di'r deri 'n ymdaraw?"

The funeral procession was soon over a mile in length; and although Cardiff had seen several larger funerals in point of numbers, never had it seen such a gathering of the intellect and influence, morally and socially, of the essentially Welsh element of Wales. A thousand memorial badges worn on a thousand sorrowful hearts eloquently expressed the affectionate respect in which Dan Isaac Davies was held by his countrymen and the friends of education. There was the Pontypridd Teachers' Association as a body forming a distinct part of the

procession. All along the route were hundreds of spectators. Three thousand mourners passed through Park Place; and on arriving at the residence of Dan Isaac Davies (12, Richmond Terrace,) all the men uncovered, marching bareheaded past the house. The usual burial-service had been held in the house, the Cymanfa choirs of the Welsh Sunday School Union singing "Yn y dyfroedd mawr a'r tonnau." Over the grave at the cemetery, Archdeacon Griffiths, who had fought so gallantly with Dan Isaac Davies, addressed the people in an eloquent oration. Then, while hundreds wept, the typically Welsh obsequies ended with a thrilling rendering of "Bydd myrdd o ryfeddodau." On the following Monday, at a Singing Festival held at Penuel Chapel, Pontypridd, memorial addresses were delivered, and the ten assembled choirs sang "Caf esgyn o'r dyrus anialwch" and "O fryniau Caersalem ceir gweled." Dan Isaac Davies had fought and won like a prince, and winning, fell like a prince; like a prince, therefore, was he buried.

Of the son and two daughters of his first marriage he left a son and daughter, the second daughter having died an infant, while of the second marriage he left a son and two daughters. His widow and children, in consequence of his heavy expenses in connection with the bilingual campaign, were left with less provision than they should have been had his life not been so suddenly cut short. On the day of his funeral, therefore, a memorial fund was organised; and at the first meeting held in a few days after at Cardiff, over a hundred pounds were promised. When the fund was closed, £323 18s. 10d. had been subscribed, which were handed over to the widow. Mrs. Davies, however, devoted all to found a Welsh Scholarship in the South Wales and Monmouthshire

College at Cardiff, to be named "The Dan Isaac Davies Scholarship."

Dan Isaac Davies loved Wales better than himself: as his widow remarked, he "belonged more to Wales than to his family." He was a pure-minded patriot, without a suggestion about him of the sham-patriot or the show-patriot, who does no more for Wales than appear on her public platforms to praise her in English—the only language he has ever taken the trouble to learn. A less selfish Welshman than Dan Isaac Davies never lived; his great soul, burning with love for Wales and Welsh, gave him no rest; and he sacrificed his life for their sakes as truly as if he had fallen in battle for them, having done the work of a lifetime in four short years. The dream of his youth, to "rise to something higher than a sub-inspectorship," was realised in an infinitely higher sense than if he had had a chief-inspectorship: that would have been but a question of time; but he rose above his calling, to be a new educational leader, an inspiration to his chiefs and colleagues, and the natural, spontaneous chief of the advanced section of the new school of Welsh patriotism—a section that would, by natural means, preserve, revivify and develop all that is best in Welsh life and character, and a section that considers as absolutely unworthy of the name a Welshman too unpatriotic to learn his country's language. Dan Isaac Davies inspired all he came in contact with: he seemed, indeed, to be inspiration incarnate, and the hot, noiseless life-blood of all his many organisations. His spirit still pervades the councils of his country, and his energy and single-mindedness are still cherished as a heritage well availed of. In presence he was genial and cheery, and a gentleman to the tips of his fingers. How cautious he was not to offend! how anxious to win all into sympathy with his ideals! how conciliatory to English people desirous of

learning Welsh! (He would have a Welsh dictionary for them that would include inflected forms, such as *d*ad, *nh*ad, *th*ad). He was inherently the very opposite of self-assertive, but characterised by sound, clear common-sense and logical ability of the highest order. He was "desirous of caring for the children of Wales as well as for the children of Welshmen, because he believed that the Welsh nation had won more by receiving alien children to her heart than by losing Welsh children through Dic-Shon-Dafyddiaeth."* He would "Welshify first in sentiment, then in language, all nationalities living in Wales;" and that has been the policy of the Cymmrodorion ever since. This policy he advocated for the rescue of weak-kneed Welshmen.

Of course, he was in and through all the educationist, anxious to see every Welshman conversant with English, and every Englishman in Wales conversant with Welsh; that is, bilinguists—not monoglot Welshmen or monoglot Englishmen. He scouted the essentially English idea that would eternally bolt the door of philological study with "one universal language." To him "it was an immense advantage not to be born a monoglot;" and although "commercial education was all very well, they should not try to fit boys and girls for professions before giving them a good intellectual and moral grounding."

For a great idealist, he was what the man-in-the-street would call "wonderfully practical:" to propound a theory meant to him the putting it in practice forthwith in all its minutest details. "The Gelligaer experiment with Welsh in day-schools in 1884 was," pronounced he, "an effort of more value than a barnful of promise and talk and scheme." To all difficult problems that stood in the way of his ideal, he had a practical solution. English classes in Welsh Sunday Schools must have a cheap diglott

*Y Geninen, 1887, pp. 59, etc.

New Testament as soon as possible, and the Cardiff Welsh Sunday School Union must petition the British and Foreign Bible Society for one: by 1889 they had succeeded; and the annual circulation of it since is about 7,500 copies. Anti-Welsh teachers excused themselves with the false cry of "No Welsh manuals!" then the Welsh Language Society and the Cardiff Cymmrodorion would soon see to that: by April, 1887, Stage I. of "Welsh as a Specific Subject for Elementary Schools" had gone through three editions; and the Cymmrodorion Eisteddfod prize action songs (by Mr. Tom Price) were published at Wrexham. School Boards and other school managers could not find Welsh in the existing Education Code; but let them make the most of the privilege already given them in the foot-note to Schedule II. and, on the strength of that, appeal for more. And that was the keynote of his fair, practical policy—a good, prompt use of the means next to hand.

Aflame as he was with enthusiasm, he was deliberate in action, and fair all round: "Englishmen in Wales," said he, "were not to be debarred offices and posts because they lacked Welsh: much of it was the fault of Welshmen themselves: little assistance had been given Englishmen up to his day to learn Welsh;" but he would see that soon there would be plenty of assistance and opportunities; and then "all parents in Wales should be notified that after the year 18—— no public post was to be had in Wales, except under very extraordinary circumstances, but for bilinguists." What a pity he was not spared long enough to become a second Hywel Dda!

Always alert and farsighted, he was full of hope and prophecy: the realisation of his ideal "might be a question of twenty years." No Welsh movement escaped him —not even the opening of a Welsh Church of England in Cardiff: Nonconformist as he had always been, he was

present at the first Welsh service held in St. Andrew's. And when Sir S. W. Griffith, Premier of Queensland, and a Merthyr boy, visited Wales in April, 1887, he needs must move the Cardiff Cymmrodorion to present him with a bilingual valedictory address; and this was done on April 16, on the platform of the Cardiff G.W.R. station.

Dan Isaac Davies had always the courage of his convictions: he thought, resolved, and acted. Never was a more appropriate inscription on a tomb than that on his —"I believed, therefore have I spoken." For a conviction he would dare all. He never hesitated to approach all kinds of influential people and public bodies whenever he wanted help or whenever he wished to press home the claims of Wales: resolution after resolution, passed by his well-advised societies, would he hurl at all concerned, always taking care that everything reached the people through the papers.

His enthusiasm was contagious; in his writings and correspondence, as in his private talks and public speeches, it was irresistible. His very eye and countenance were magnetic. And what an eye he had for a fellow-worker!—what a power to convince him that Wales had a claim upon his best! Principal Roberts never tires of saying that it was "one of the privileges of his life to co-operate with Dan Isaac Davies while at Cardiff." To Mr. Beriah Gwynfe Evans who, as first secretary of the Welsh Language Society, did so much, and that much so well, for the bilingual movement, Dan Isaac Davies was all a leader should be.* Never had general a more faithful lieutenant than Dan Isaac Davies had in Mr. Evans. Then, there is "Cochfarf," with his more than 16 years' steady, persistent service on the civic councils of Cardiff on behalf of Welsh nationalism: it was

* *Cyfaill yr Aelwyd*, 1887.

Dan Isaac Davies that discovered him, urging,—almost compelling,—him to leave his books and his literary studies for public life, and enter the Cardiff Council as its first Welsh Nationalist. And this "Cochfarf" did. Since then he often recalls those early days of inspiration and enthusiasm when Dan Isaac Davies used to call upon him night after night in the kitchen of the "Gordon" on his way home after a hard day's work, and how hour after hour until closing time, and then up through the Hayes and Queen Street to St. Andrew's Crescent, he would talk and plan and plan and talk about the great work so dear to their hearts, until the twelve successive hammer-strokes of St. John's clock broke upon their ears like the chiding of the disturbed dead, deserted silence of midnight. "Cochfarf" always remembers, too, how anxious Dan Isaac Davies was to have a great collection of Welsh books at Cardiff, and how, sometime in 1886, he took him to the Free Library to find the librarian able to carry all that was there in his hands. To-day "Cochfarf," as chairman of the Public Libraries Committee, can testify that the institution contains the largest collection in the world of printed books relating to Wales.

Another typical example of Dan Isaac Davies as Carlyle's "man with an eye" is his choice of Mr. Owen M. Edwards, M.A., now Chief Inspector of Education in Wales, as "the man to carry on his work." Mr. Edwards has proved himself, since Dan Isaac Davies's death, to be his most brilliant as well as his most progressive disciple. What with his popular magazines, *Cymru Fydd*, *Cymru*, *Cymru'r Plant*, *Wales*, and *Heddyw*, and his varied and numerous cheap editions of Welsh classics and children's books, he has been a host in himself in the battle for Wales and everything that appertains to her intellectual welfare; and now that the Government has formed a

Welsh Education Department, and has placed him at the head of it, the coping-stone of the temple that was ever present to the prophetic eye of Dan Isaac Davies, is set. How Mr. Edwards fell under the spell of the enchanter is best described by Mr. Edwards himself. In a letter to the writer he says,

"During my holidays I was very much at Cardiff when a student at Oxford [1885-7.] In those years Dan Isaac Davies took me under his care, and awoke in me the feelings that Michael D. Jones had evoked at Bala. He came to me though I knew scarcely anything about him; he would come across me on every occasion, following me to my lodgings, continually telling me, 'You are the man to carry on my work.' I hardly understood what he meant; but I was completely charmed with his self-sacrificing spirit, his high and pure aims, and his devouring zeal. Gradually I opened my eyes; and I feel sure that the greatest loss I have ever sustained, next to the death of T. E. Ellis, was the death of Dan Isaac Davies."

It was at the request of Dan Isaac Davies that Mr. Edwards competed at the Cardiff Cymmrodorion Eisteddfod of 1886 for the prize offered for the best Welsh book of stories from the history of Wales for use in Standard III. From the forcing-ground of Dan Isaac Davies's national societies came the seeds that have since borne such abundant fruit in Mr. Edwards's magazine—and book-ventures.

Just as Dan Isaac Davies fascinated individuals, so he swayed the masses. It was a common occurrence to find Wood-Street Chapel filled with two thousand Welsh people when he was to speak to them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the revolution he practically commenced at Cardiff in favour of everything Welsh was soon felt in the public life of the town. He found Cardiff cosmopolitan: he left it nationalistic.

Although his death was premature, he lived long enough to see sprouting all around him much of the seed sown by him; and since his death the many and varied results of his life and policy are patent to all. By

April, 1888, the members of the Welsh Language Society numbered 900; and although, towards the end of the last century, the society languished from the want of financial support, it is to-day, as it has been since the dawn of the new century, a greater educational force than ever, concentrating all its energies upon the grounding of teachers in a love as well as in a knowledge of Welsh. Since the New Code of October, 1889 was re-arranged so as to admit of the whole programme of the society being carried into effect at the option of the managers of any school in Wales, bilingualism in elementary schools is the rule, Welsh manuals upon all subjects of education have multiplied, and the use of them wonderfully increased. Indeed, the latest (May, 1907) regulations of the Welsh Education Department provide that in Welsh districts Welsh will be recognised in grammar, recitation, and history for the senior and junior grades. It is significant, too, that, almost simultaneously with this, Welsh has been adopted as a subject in the syllabus of the London School of Preceptors.

In higher education Welsh has a most honourable place, not only in Wales, but in Oxford and Liverpool, and in Germany and France. Unfortunately, it is in that pestiferous nest of snobbery, called the "County School," that Welsh is mostly neglected: out of 11,577 scholars in these schools, only 2,730 are taught Welsh. It is sad to think that in a very large number of these schools, for which the Welsh nation sacrificed so much, and from which it expected so much more, the spirit of the "Welsh Note" is still busily at work. But let those anti-Welsh teachers that boycott Welsh and make dead letters of laws and regulations, look to it: behind the suave countenance of the Chief Inspector of Education in Wales burns the strong, fiery spirit of Dan Isaac Davies

—a spirit dissatisfied with the existing state of things, and that tells the writer in the letter recounting his Cardiff days under the spell of the master, that "although he has done his best during the last twenty years, he is far from having done what he could to realise the dreams of Dan Isaac Davies. But he feels that those dreams are becoming truer every day."

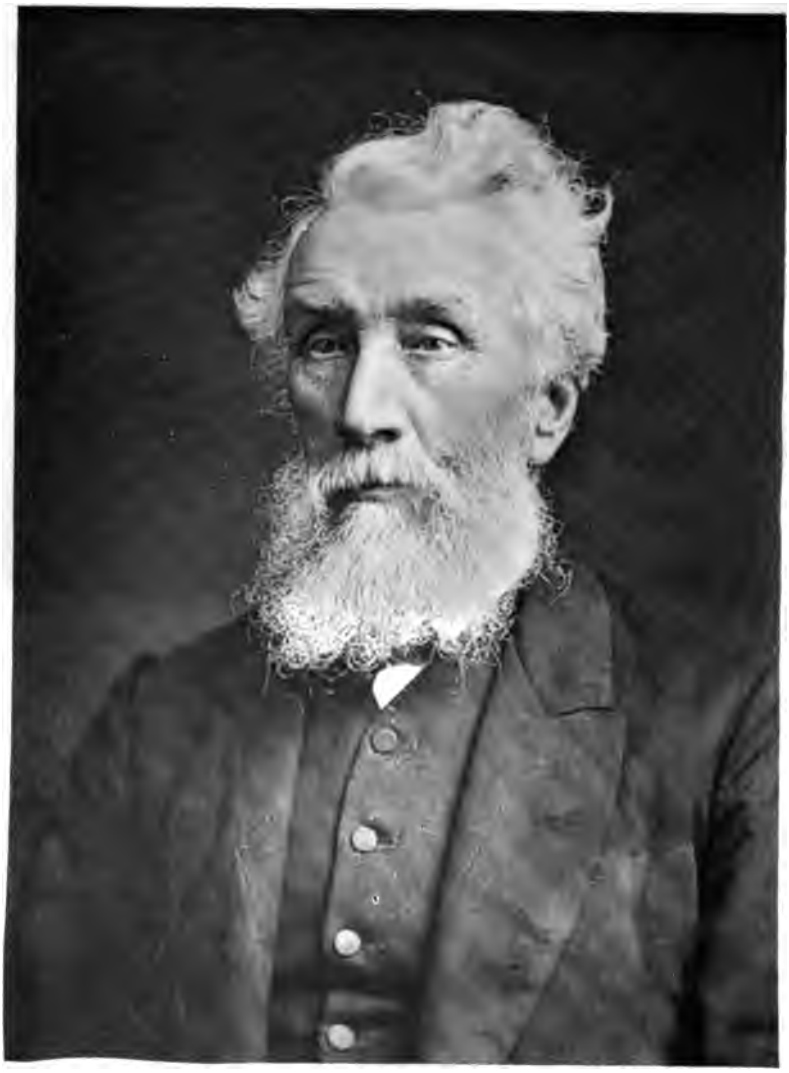
It is very easy to laugh at and despise what is not understood: nothing is easier; but it is the mark of the Philistine; and the supercilious attitude of anti-Welsh Philistines to the intrinsic and relative value of a knowledge of Welsh, is as hopeless as their neglect of English poetry, which they never read—cannot. Dan Isaac Davies fought and fell for a national character made beautiful and useful by patriotic sentiment and by a love of the home language; he discovered for himself that the vigorous Welsh life of his day was the natural result of Welsh thought and energy in letters and religion during the eighteenth century; he, therefore, claimed for Welsh erudition a market-value at least in Wales, if not in England; he recognised in the cry of "Wales for the Welsh" but a deliberate falsehood on the part of the enemy; over and over again he emphasised the necessity for both Welsh and English children in Wales to understand what was being taught them, so as to equip them for life not only in Wales, but in England and all over "The Empire;" he considered, with Schlegel,* "the care of the national language as at all times a sacred trust and a most important privilege of the higher orders of society; that every man of education should make it the object of his unceasing concern to preserve his language pure and entire, to speak it, so far as is in his power, in all its beauty and perfection; that a nation whose language

* "History of Literature."

became rude and barbarous must be on the brink of barbarism in regard to everything else; and that a nation which allowed her language to go to ruin was parting with the last half of her intellectual independence, and testifying her willingness to cease to exist;" he saw that the fault of the Cymry was not aggressiveness, but rather a too great willingness to learn, which made them ready to abandon their own good points; that the extension of European influence meant the distribution, not of its genius, but merely of the most commonplace aspects of European life and industry; and he could not see why it should be considered a calamity if European influence did not become everywhere predominant, or even had to recede.

Dan Isaac Davies added generations to the life of the Welsh language; and its extensive use in school and court and council, officially recognised, will inevitably permeate the whole mass of the people, so that there are strong hopes of Dan Isaac Davies's prediction in 1885 being fulfilled—"There will be three million bilingual Welshmen in Wales by 1985."

Anti-Welsh people are certainly at liberty to blunder along in the future as in the past; but at the risk of encountering a policy other than Dan Isaac Davies's: that was "Reason, persuade, compromise;" the future one may be "Assert, demand, fight." Welsh Nationalists must not let the grass of opposition grow under their feet: Dan Isaac Davies never did: but wherever and whenever a blow for Wales was to be struck, however insignificant, he was there,—and in time.



REV. THOMAS DAVIES, D.D. (Haverfordwest).

THE REV. THOMAS DAVIES, D.D.

Born at St. Mellons, near Cardiff, 1812; *educated at the local National School, and at Bristol Baptist College; Pastor at the High Street Baptist Church, Merthyr,* 1836 *to* 1856; *President of the Haverfordwest College,* 1857 *to* 1894; *Pastor of the Bethesda Baptist Church, Haverfordwest,* 1857 *to* 1895; *died at Haverfordwest,* 1895.

By T. WITTON DAVIES, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.,

Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of North Wales, Bangor; for eleven years Classical, Hebrew and Mathematical Tutor at the Baptist College, Haverfordwest.

ABOUT the middle of the last century there was no more popular public man in Wales than the late Dr. Thomas Davies, of Haverfordwest, and as one of his successors as pastor of the High Street Church, Merthyr, I may claim to have grounds for saying that no minister of any denomination has ever wielded in Merthyr and its neighbourhood the deep and widespread influence which he wielded. He took a keen interest in everything affecting the welfare of the town and district; was upon committees of every kind, and took his full share in platform work. Twenty years of successful labour at Merthyr were followed by over forty years of equally successful labour at Haverfordwest, as pastor, president and Professor. It has been the privilege of but few to live to the age of eighty-two, and to have spent almost sixty years in public life. During the score of years he lived at Merthyr, he was known as "Davies, High

Street "—no one thought of adding the name of the town. Even during the eleven years (1880—1891) I was his colleague at Haverfordwest, I often, in my travels in Wales, was asked about "Davies, High Street."

Thomas Davies was born November 13, 1812, at the Wern Fawr Farm, St. Mellons, about midway between Cardiff and Newport. His parents occupied a good position in the world as well-to-do farmers, and they were held in high esteem in the neighbourhood. After receiving a good average education in the local school, he removed, at the age of sixteen, to Dowlais, where for two years he was engaged as assistant in a grocery business. It was during this time that he was baptized by the Rev. David Saunders at Zion Chapel, Merthyr, and for nearly two years it was his privilege to attend the ministry of that distinguished preacher. It was largely through young Davies's influence that the Caersalim Church, Dowlais, was formed, and he became one of the first members of that church, now so large and influential.

In the eighteenth year of his age, *i.e.*, in 1830, he returned to his home at St. Mellons, joining the Church at Castleton, about a mile away, where the pastor was that well-known Welsh poet and preacher, the Rev. Evan Jones (Gwrwst). Soon after returning home he took a leading part in establishing a Baptist Sunday School at St. Mellons, and in a very short time public services as well. It was owing to the need for preachers at these services that young Thomas Davies was pressed to preach, and this he did so acceptably that he was urged to devote himself to the work of the ministry, and soon yielded to the influence thus brought to bear upon him. In a short period a Baptist Chapel had to be

erected at St. Mellons, and I have heard him say with pride that with his father's carts and horses he conveyed nearly all the stones needed for the new building.

Having now set his mind on the ministry, he must be prepared for entrance into College. It was arranged that he should receive private instruction from the Rev. W. Jones, of Bethany, Cardiff, father of the late Rees Jones, J.P., of the same city. At this time the immortal Christmas Evans was pastor at the Tabernacle Church in the same city, and from him and from the saintly and (for these times) cultured pastor of Bethany, he received impulse and guidance which he remembered with gratitude to his last days. It was before these two men that he preached for the purpose, if possible, of having their recommendation for admission into Bristol College. At the close of the trial sermon before Christmas Evans, the great preacher gripped him by the hand, and said (in Welsh) with much warmth: "Well done, my boy, you will make a preacher. I will gladly sign your application for admission into college." It was that boy himself, when an old man, who related this incident to me.

In 1832, at the age of twenty, he entered the Bristol Baptist College, where the Rev. T. S. Crisp, D.D., was Principal, and where he had for fellow students those brilliant scholars, Doctors F. W. Gotch and Benjamin Davies, the latter a Carmarthenshire (Login) Welshman, who translated and edited Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar and wrote an excellent Hebrew Lexicon, one of the very best even yet. Thomas Davies never distinguished himself in scholarship, or by his literary productions, to anything like the extent that these men did; but as a man of affairs, as preacher, platform speaker, as organiser and committee man, he was far their superior:

"Every man in his own order."

Davies was just a year too late to hear the foremost pulpit orator of those days, Robert Hale, who died, as Baptist Minister at Bristol, in 1831. But he often came in contact with that great English essayist, John Foster who for some time edited the "*Eclectic Review*," and who contributed to its pages some of the finest essays in the English language, though often their style left something to be desired. On one occasion Dr. Davies told me that he and the late Dr. Trestrail, a fellow student, called upon Foster, who had, in public, expressed some doubts on the question of "Eternal Punishment." Davies asked him: "Do you think, Mr. Foster, that the punishment of the wicked will come to an end?" "It is to be hoped so," answered the essayist, with considerable sternness. Foster had at the time a small Baptist Church at Bristol, but the number who came to hear him was small, though appreciative. He was always glad to welcome students, and it was considered a rich treat to hear him discourse on questions of Philosophy and Theology.

In 1836 Mr. Davies accepted an invitation from the English Baptist Church Merthyr Tydfil. He found a small church and a small congregation. The chapel was a miserably poor one, and as badly situated as it could be. But his ministry was very prosperous; leading families in the town attached themselves to the church so that in 1841 the present High Street—very sacred to me as one of its old pastors—was erected, and in a short time filled.

Besides his success as preacher and pastor, he was one of the most prominent and popular men in the town. It was at his suggestion, as put forth in the now defunct "*Merthyr Telegraph*," and mainly through his efforts, that

the large and beautiful Cefn Cemetery was opened. The Rector of Merthyr, Mr. Campbell (afterwards Bishop of Bangor and a bosom friend of Mr. Davies's) and other Churchmen, did their utmost to induce the local authorities to add to the Church burying ground at the expense of the parish: but thanks, largely, to the marvellous influence of "Davies, High Street," an unsectarian burial ground was prepared, and it remains one of the finest in the country. It was during Mr. Davies's pastorate that the Chartist riots took place, and it speaks volumes for the influence he had with the working class that he was allowed to enter their meetings, and to address them, though in his speeches he generally counselled the men to alter some of their opinions and to employ peaceable instead of revolutionary methods in reaching their ends. He was always at such gatherings listened to with respect, even when he rose to criticise speeches given at the same meetings. Among his contemporaries at Merthyr was John Jones, of Zion, who was an immensely popular preacher, but who so much more excelled in the *manner* than in the *matter* of his preaching that some wag said his sermons should be labelled: "To be consumed on the premises." Another contemporary was the distinguished Welsh poet and the extraordinary Welsh orator, "Roberts Gloff," one of Cambria's greatest geniuses, who was ruined, as so many others of Cambria's brilliant sons, by the drink. Davies called upon Roberts one morning and found him busily writing a sermon on a text, with a library of books before him, commentaries, sermons, etc., all open at a place where the text was dealt with. Roberts told his young friend that he had all those books open before him that he might avoid saying what other authors have already said! Roberts was at the time minister at the Tabernacle Church.

When he had fallen through the drink he crossed the Atlantic, and had another brilliant period as lecturer, preacher and poet. But he soon fell once more, and fell now never to rise again.

Finding the town and neighbourhood in sad need of high class schools in which young men could be prepared for the higher walks of life, Mr. Davies founded such an institution, and it met with immediate success. Some of the leading ministers and laymen of the Principality (lawyers, doctors, editors, etc.) were trained at this school. When, therefore, in 1856, the presidency of the Baptist College, Haverfordwest, became vacant, through the deeply lamented death of the Rev. David Davies, the attention of the committee was naturally directed to "Davies, High Street," who had shown outstanding ability as preacher, educator, and as leader of men. He was unanimously invited to become president of the College and joint pastor of the Bethesda Church, Haverfordwest, a church which counts among early pastors the well-known preacher and theologian, John Howard Hinton, father of James Hinton, aurist, author and philosopher. Mr. Davies's colleague in both college and church was the Rev. Thomas Burditt, M.A., an excellent classical scholar, a successful instructor and a gifted preacher. The new president and pastor soon made his influence felt in the town and county as educationist and as politician, and it was not long before his leadership was recognised by Nonconformists of every denomination. No man known to me has more admirably united the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. In political, educational and in religious matters he was as immovable as the deep-based rock: but his manner was so void of offence, and his speech so winsome, that he disarmed opposition and often silenced criticism. When

about 1886 Gladstone appealed to the country on the question of Home Rule, the candidate for the Haverfordwest and contributory Boroughs was Lewis Morris, the poet. Feeling ran high, especially at Haverfordwest, always a very uncertain quantity in politics. A large meeting was arranged to be held at the Market Hall, but great fears were entertained lest the "other side" should make the speeches inaudible and the gathering a failure. We all felt however—for I was a member of the committee—that with Doctor Davies in the chair all would go well; and so it was. Though then over seventy-four years of age he spoke clearly and forcefully, but also in such a way as to quiet the stormy elements. When there was any sign of disorder, the chairman was on his feet, and a glance of his piercing eye and a wave of his hand were generally enough to restore order. Nothing distinguished the Doctor—for the William Jewell University had conferred upon him the degree of D.D. soon after he left Merthyr—more than his presence of mind and his extraordinary tact at critical moments. I remember a well-known Welsh barrister visiting Haverfordwest about the time of this great meeting, and remarking to a friend of mine that he knew of but one man who could outwit "Dizzy," as the late Lord Beaconsfield was familiarly called, and that was Dr. Thomas Davies of Haverfordwest. I have rarely known a public man who fought for principles he held with such dogged persistence, and who yet retained so much of the esteem and even affection of opponents. He was vice-chairman of the Haverfordwest School Board from its establishment until, some years before his death, he became chairman; and he had more to do than any other in guiding the policy of the Board. He was never an advocate of secularism in the day schools. His position was

that the Bible deserves to be read in the schools, not because it is what we mean by "Bible," but because as Literature and as Ethics, it is comparable to the very best of books. And through his influence and tact the Board agreed, I think unanimously, that certain parts of the Bible should be read with only such explanations as were deemed indispensable for the understanding of what was read. Before entering upon my eleven years of happy colleagueship with Dr. Davies, I had been an ardent member of the now defunct "Birmingham Education League," which advocated the absolute exclusion of the Bible from the schools. But soon after settling at Haverfordwest in January, 1881, the Doctor's view—Dr. Clifford's view to-day—so commended itself to my judgment that I adopted it, and I hold it still.

Dr. Davies's life and works were so varied, and he achieved distinction in so many ways, that it would be easy to exhaust the remainder of this paper by further accounts of his general public work. But he came to Haverfordwest to be president of the College even more than to be pastor, and his greatest work was done in connection with that institution. It may be well therefore to give here a brief sketch of the history of the West Wales Baptist College, especially as it has now become merged in the Baptist Colleges at Bangor and Cardiff.

Up to 1839 the Baptists of Wales had but one college for the training of their ministers, that located at Pontypool under the presidency of the Rev. T. Thomas, D.D., my own president, my first theological professor and in many respects the most remarkable, and, I think, the most perfect man I have known. His colleague, the Rev. George Thomas, M.A., was an excellent scholar for those days, and the most lovable of men, though much behind the president as teacher and disciplinarian. This college

stood high in the estimation of the denomination, but it was felt by the Baptists of West Wales, who were and are very numerous, that more pastors were needed than the college trained; and that, in consequence, many of the churches had to be satisfied with ministers of very slender education, for in those days there were no University Colleges or even Council Schools. So in 1839 a new Baptist College was established at Haverfordwest, the chief promoters and supporters being John Phillips, Llanriddian, who gave £700; William Rees, J.P., solicitor, who gave still more in various ways; Rev. T. E. Thomas, Trehale, father of Abel Thomas, Esq., M.P; Henry Davies, Llangloffan (the second); and Rev. David Davies, pastor of the Bethesda Church, Haverfordwest. All these men belonged to the county of Pembroke, where the Baptists number about one third of the population. The institution was housed first of all in temporary quarters in Spring Gardens, which Mr. Rees allowed the committee to have free of charge; or, rather, he returned the rent (£25) each year as a subscription. The students lodged together, the home being presided over by a matron. Each student was allowed £15 *per annum* out of which, with the help of what came by way of supplies, he had to pay for board, books, clothing, etc. The first president was the Rev. David Davies, pastor at Haverfordwest, who gave his services gratuitously until the committee were able to remunerate him. Though born on his father's farm close to Haverfordwest, he had been trained at Abergavenny (now Cardiff), and at Stepney (now Regent's Park) Colleges. Before settling at Haverfordwest as successor of his father, Rev. B. Davies, who was minister and well-to-do farmer, he had for over sixteen years carried on a very successful ministry at Evesham, Worcester. He was a very remarkable preacher; his sermon

rarely lasted more than twenty minutes, but during that time he poured forth the most impetuous torrents of eloquence that a Haverfordwest audience ever listened to from Sunday to Sunday; and he always wound up when pathos and passion were at their highest, and when everyone wished him to go on. He was intense in all that he did in the church, the college, and in the town. Though not the most learned, I judge from what I have heard from many who knew him, that he was the greatest natural genius of all the teachers which the college had, from 1839, when it was established, to its mergence in the other two Welsh Baptist colleges in 1899. And certainly no one of the teachers was more affectionately regarded by his pupils or by others that knew him. As a sermon critic he was almost unrivalled. Not only had he a keen analytic mind, and great sensitiveness to the proprieties of language, thought and delivery, but he could utter his criticisms in a manner which made them clear and memorable. After showing the faults of the student's sermon, it was his custom to build up the scheme of a sermon from the same text in the way he thought it should be done; and these reconstructions were original and striking. He lacked that inexhaustible fund of humour which Dr. Davies, his successor, could always command: he was always in dead earnest in all his work, and the effect of contact with him in church, college or society was intensified earnestness in the business and work of life.

In 1841 the Rev. T. Gabriel Jones, pastor at Beulah, Pembrokeshire, was appointed to teach classics and mathematics at the college. He knew his Latin and Greek well, and other things fairly so; but, though much admired by the students for the uprightness of his life and for his genuine abilities, he made a sorry teacher. He had a lisp in his speech, and was eccentric in many of

his ways, so that he failed to win that deference from the students which was his due. Mr. Jones had been at one time a Congregational minister. Soon after adopting Baptist views he had a memorable public debate on the subject of Baptism, with a well-known Wesleyan minister. Mr. Jones was held in high esteem in the denomination. He was a man of uncommon intelligence, and being possessed of considerable means he wielded an influence in the county such as but few ministers wield. Upon his resignation in 1853 he was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Burditt, M.A., who, besides being tutor at the college, became assistant pastor at the Bethesda Church, thus relieving the president of a considerable share of his pastoral duties. Mr. Burditt was well educated, an admirable teacher and a most lovable man. The late estimable and able Rev. Hugh Jones, M.A., D.D., principal of the North Wales Baptist College, has left it on record, in words which only the exigencies of space prevent me from quoting, that his success as student, teacher and author were due in a very large measure to the careful and scholarly teaching and the personal stimulus of Mr. Burditt. When in 1857 Dr. Davies came from Merthyr to become president of the Haverfordwest College he had Mr. Burditt for colleague in church and in college. The two worked fairly well together in both spheres, though they did not see eye to eye on some matters, nor did they always agree to differ. Upon the removal of Mr. Burditt to Tenby, where he was for some years pastor of the Baptist Church, the Rev. G. H. Rouse, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., D.D., was chosen his successor, and from 1866 to 1872 he discharged the duties of the chair with rare efficiency. The vast extent of his knowledge was not quite equalled by his success in the class-room, though it was more than equalled by the

beautiful simplicity of his life, and by the unselfishness with which he gave himself to all manner of efforts for the betterment of the people. Dr. Rouse was the most learned professor the college had. Besides being M.A. in classics of the London University, he secured the Gold Medal at the M.A. examination in mathematics, and he was also B.Sc. and LL.B. of the same university. His son, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, Head Master of the Perse School, Cambridge, who has won considerable distinction in scholarship and in literature, was once upon a while a Baptist student, and offered himself for mission work among the Baptists; but he was considered not "sound in the faith," and his offer was "declined with thanks." Dr. G. H. Rouse left Haverfordwest in 1872 to return to the mission field in India, which impaired health had compelled him to leave. He is still at work in India, translating the Scriptures into the languages of the country, or superintending the work of others in the same direction. The Baptists have reason for the pride they feel in having among them so truly great, and withal so modest and good a man.

Dr. Rouse was succeeded in 1872 by the Rev. W. Edwards, D.D., now principal of the Baptist College, Cardiff, with whom for three months I was fellow student at the Pontypool College. No teacher ever did better work at the Haverfordwest College, and no one was more deeply beloved. In eight years more Dr. Edwards accepted a unanimous invitation to become president of the institution with which he is still connected in the same capacity, though it was then located at Pontypool. The writer of these lines, then pastor of Dr. Davies's old church at Merthyr, another "Davies, High Street," was offered the vacant post at Haverfordwest, without any application or intimation or much inclination on his part, and he accepted it, labouring in this sphere—as tutor only, of

course—from January 1881 to December 1891, exactly eleven sessions, when he accepted a unanimous invitation to become Principal of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham. No other "classical" tutor was ever appointed; nor was any successor to Dr. Davies appointed after his resignation in 1894, though several ministers were engaged to carry on the work of the college at Haverfordwest and at Aberystwyth, where the college was located from 1894 to 1899, when it was amalgamated with the South Wales Baptist College at Cardiff, and with the North Wales Baptist College at Bangor (founded at Llangollen in 1862).

No Welsh Baptist college had a more brilliant record than that of Haverfordwest, judged by the students whom it sent forth. The late Rev. J. Jones (Mathetes), author of the largest Bible Encyclopædia which has appeared in Welsh and of innumerable books besides, was an old student, as was the late Dr. Hugh Jones, Principal of the North Wales Baptist College, who made a great name for himself as scholar, writer, preacher, teacher and president. Dudley Evans, one of Wales's most eloquent English preachers; Dr. B. D. Thomas, leader of the Baptists at Toronto, Canada; Dr. Timothy Richards, the greatest of all Chinese missionaries; Giraldus, the American Welsh poet, preacher and editor; Dr. Chivers, one of the greatest living preachers in the United States; W. P. Williams, the ablest editor which the "*South Wales Daily News*" or the "*Sheffield Independent*" ever had; Rev. James Owen, Swansea, ex-president of the Baptist Union; Myfyr Emlyn (B. Thomas) the poet-preacher of Wales; Thomas Lewis, the pioneer missionary of Africa, medalled by several geographical societies for the discoveries he has made; these, and many others that could be named, received their training in the West Wales

college, the college which was at least as much beloved by its former sons and by the churches as any other Baptist College which Wales has ever had.

But it is full time to return to the main subject of this sketch, Dr. Davies, though it is believed that the information given above of the college with which he was for so long a time and so closely associated, will be found not inappropriate; and as many of the facts supplied have never before been made public, such information may have a certain value. I have heard it said, and I have seen the statement in printed form, that it was the dying request of David Davies that both church and college should invite "Davies, High Street," to succeed him. But the first report of the college issued after Mr. D. Davies's death, *viz.*, that for 1856, makes no reference to this; on the other hand, it distinctly states that "The committee were directed by several gentlemen of influence and standing in the churches of the Principality to the Rev. Thomas Davies, Merthyr." No one, perhaps, did more to induce church and college to invite Mr. Davies than the late Rev. B. Evans, D.D.,* of Neath, who, with the late Dr. T. Price, of Aberdare, had enormous influence in denominational affairs about the middle of the last century. But I had it from the Doctor's own lips that the students were to a man so anxious to have him for their president that they sent him a "round robin" praying him to come among them. Mr. Burditt, the classical tutor, was greatly beloved, but it was felt that the president of a Welsh denominational college should be a Welshman, and that, as he would have to give most of the instruction in theology, preaching and pastoral work, he should be a man of extended and successful pastoral experience.

* See "Seren Gomer," 1884, p. 102.

Indeed, as a college president, he ought to be a man of wide outlook, of general knowledge and sympathies, and of large views. The conscientious discharge of the duties of a professorship has much in it to disqualify for a principalship.

When Mr. Davies came to Haverfordwest he found fifteen students at the college, and an income from subscriptions and collections of £404 odd. In 1858, two years later, there were twenty-nine students, and the income from subscriptions and collections amounted to over £617. In 1865 there were thirty students at the institution, the income from the same sources having reached £712 odd, notwithstanding the fresh drain upon the churches through the establishment, in 1862, of the North Wales Baptist College. In 1865 there were sixty-eight students in training at the three Welsh Baptist colleges, *viz.*, thirty, twenty-five and thirteen, at Haverfordwest, Pontypool and Llangollen respectively. Last year (1906) there were forty-eight students at the Baptist colleges —twenty-eight at Cardiff and twenty at Bangor. Moreover, the course of study is, on an average, twice as long, so that with an immense increase in the number of Baptist churches in the Principality, a much smaller number of college trained students are available annually for the pastorate than some forty years ago. This means that with an enormous growth of education and of educational facilities in the Principality, a very much larger proportion of untrained men enter the Baptist ministry in Wales to-day than in 1865.

Very soon after entering upon his presidential duties, Dr. Davies introduced the custom of annual examinations conducted by gentlemen whom the committee had chosen, and the character of the work was, in consequence, improved in every way. He was an

admirable disciplinarian, and during the whole time of his presidency a spirit of hard work pervaded the college. This made it easy for the Doctor's colleagues to get good work out of the students, for when the president of a college is lax in the demands he makes upon himself and upon the men under his care, general slackness soon enters and abides in the institution. When I settled at Haverfordwest in January, 1881, I found that Hebrew was not taught, and I at once resolved to introduce it. Some students demurred, and were reluctant to take up a language that looked so strange on paper. But the president was heart and soul with me in the step I had taken, and so consistently and persistently supported me, that in a shorter time than I expected the men came to like this language with its curious alphabet, and to pursue it with enthusiasm of their own free will and accord. The Doctor's colleagues whom I have known—Doctors Rouse and Edwards—found him, as I did, as loyal as could be, and always ready to uphold proper discipline, and to support his co-workers in any proper demands made upon their pupils. He was not only firm but exceedingly tactful. Students felt that in class or out of class it was impossible to deceive him by making him believe that they were working if they were not. Whilst praising the Doctor's conduct as president, I think it but right to say that the students of the college, whom I had in my classes from January 1880 to December 1891 were among the finest men I have met, and I never in any college knew seniors who more completely took under their own care the honour and good conduct of the institution. But that there existed in the college such a high moral standard and such a spirit of work was very largely due to the manner in which the president had controlled the institution. After the

Doctor's coming to Haverfordwest, the number of students grew so rapidly that the house in Spring Gardens could no longer contain them. It was consequently given up, the men removing to approved apartments in different parts of the town, and the teaching taking place in a small building in Bridge Street. It was felt that the teachers came too seldom in contact with their pupils to exert much personal influence over them or to exercise proper discipline in regard to work and conduct. Moreover the social influence of student upon student and of the president and his family upon the body of students, important factors in a residential college, was to a great extent lost. Accordingly, in August, 1867, mainly through the influence of Dr. Davies and Mr. Rees, the well-known premises in St. Thomas's Green, still the property of the college trustees, were purchased and adapted at a cost of £3,000. Here for the future resided both the professors or "tutors" as we were called, and the students, though, as only twenty-one could be properly accommodated in the new building half a dozen or so had often to lodge in the town; this was the case during part of my time at the college.

Dr. Davies was a born teacher, being "apt to teach" in an extraordinary degree. Not that he was profoundly erudite, or that he laboriously prepared his lectures or rather talks. But what he knew he said quite clearly; and, without hesitation or ambiguity, he could reveal the vision he beheld. He was very ready of speech, and his language was as simple and chaste as that of any Englishman to whom I have listened, and as accurate too. He had a voice as clear as a bell, as sweet and musical as a harp, and always well under control. He had a rich profusion of humour, and in class, as everywhere

else, it always broke forth to everyone's delight; and above all and guiding all, he possessed, the saving gift of common sense, the uncommonest gift of all, John Foster used to say. The Doctor could not be dull if he tried; whether in class, on the platform, in the pulpit, or around the social hearth, he was full of breeziness and brightness, and as natural as a little child. One class a week we conducted together, though he was, of course, the real head and spoke the last word—that was the sermon class. His criticisms were always shrewd and apt, and I have known us all convulsed with laughter as he caricatured some fault of the preacher. I do not say his criticisms were always very learned or very profound; but they never failed to be the embodiment of sound judgment, and to contain very wise and helpful advice to young aspirants for the work in which he had excelled so signally. We did not always agree in our criticisms. For one thing, our conceptions of the college sermon were quite different. He thought the sermon should be suited to the professor and students before whom it was preached, or rather read. It was my opinion, and is still, that the college sermon should be made to suit an ordinary congregation, and that it should be judged from that point of view. But after we had worked together for a few months, each found that in sermon class or anywhere else he could freely and without restraint express divergence of opinion without the least fear of giving offence to the other: and this feeling of mutual confidence grew and grew to the last, as he himself said, at my parting meeting, December 22, 1891. The Doctor had some difficulties in the church and in the college, though none in my time. At critical moments no one knew better the word to speak and the thing to do. He could scent a possible source of mischief a hundred miles off, and be fully prepared to meet it long

before it came. His humour was often his best friend, for it enabled him to exorcise evil spirits in deacons and committee-men. During my residence at Haverfordwest, there was a meeting of women to promote the interests of Zenana missions. No men were allowed to be present except the Doctor, who was to stay while he read the Scriptures and offered prayer. Having done his part he said: "I leave you with the Apostolic injunction, 'Quit you like men,'" and hastily left the room.

Dr. Davies was twice married; first to Miss Jane (daughter of Lewis) Williams of Merthyr, who died in 1857, and afterwards to Miss Emma Davies (daughter of the late Rev. W. Davies, of Hailsham) who died in February, 1899, surviving her husband about four years. Of literary work he did practically nothing, though the small number of sermons and articles published by him either separately or in magazines, and especially the college reports which he almost wholly wrote, go to show that he had command of a graceful, elegant and especially a very compact style; its defect was, perhaps, a certain lack of tone or colour. The Doctor would hardly ever let himself "Go:" what is called "abandon" was neither his vice nor his virtue.

In 1874 he was elected president of the Welsh Baptist Union, and from 1887 to the time of his death he was one of the vice-presidents of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In August, 1886, the friends of the college presented to Dr. Davies a cheque for £400 as a slight acknowlegement of his valuable services to the institution during the preceding thirty years. In 1889 we presented our president with an oil painting, which was to remain at the college after his death. It is to me now a source of considerable satisfaction that I took a prominent part in raising the funds for the testimonial and for the oil

portrait, for he was full worthy of both. It should be added that he occupied the chair of the Pembrokeshire Baptist Association more than once.

He was as perfect a gentleman as I have known, and yet, or rather let me say *therefore*, the poorest and the youngest were quite at home with him. Like Dr. Thomas, of Pontypool, he had an almost perfect command of excellent Welsh and English, though both were most at home in English, and both held English, and never Welsh, pastorates. Whatever meeting they took part in, we always knew that they would bring no discredit upon the denomination to which they belonged. At this time of day, with all the advantages of the new time, it amazes me to think that men of such calibre, culture and refinement were teaching in our Welsh colleges so long ago.

Nothing struck me more during my eleven years of residence in the same building and partnership in the same work than Dr. Davies's open-mindedness. He had no prejudices against new ideas simply because they were new. He was the youngest old man I ever knew. I have seen him playing games with children when he was nearer eighty than seventy, and he was the liveliest and also the youthfulest, if not the youngest, of them all. He never liked anyone to pray for " thine aged servant," for up to about the last he felt himself young, and he had no wish to be spoken of to either God or man as anything else. Even in suffering—and for many years he was a martyr to bronchitis—the Doctor was cheerful and bright, playing, joking and laughing as if nothing were wrong. The lugubrious note that runs through Matthew Arnold's " Growing Old " formed no part of Dr. Davies's gamut. His life

> " Mellow'd and soften'd as with sunset glow,
> A golden day's decline."

Nothing was more indicative of his eternal youth than the way in which he welcomed proposals for reform. Sometime in the "eighties" a few of us felt that a change in the manner of conducting the entrance examinations was desirable: that the work should be done, not by the professors as heretofore, but by suitable and trusted brethren chosen from year to year. No one more readily fell in with the proposal than he, and this new method was at once adopted and was acted on, as far as I know, as long as the college lasted.

But he took a keen interest in the candidates, scanning them through and through with that searching eye of his, as they spoke to him and as they sat at work. He was not satisfied unless, apart from any written evidence, he had formed a fairly decisive opinion as to each man's character and promise. In all this he was helped, of course, by the sermons the men had to write on the spot and in part to preach, and by the answers they gave to questions put to them by the committee. When the merits of the young man were being estimated he saw to it that due weight was laid on the personal element, all things considered, of course. Sometimes he cross-examined a candidate in a way that was very embarrassing for the young man. One such gave us so excellent a sermon on the text prescribed that the "Old Doc.," as he was so lovingly called, suspected all was not right, for the other work of the candidate was on a lower level; and he so closely pressed him with questions that the candidate first denied and then admitted he had preached on that text before. The young man was at once dismissed and disqualified for further application. As a conversationist, Dr. Davies excelled in a pre-eminent degree; it was a treat which I can never forget, and which I often enjoyed in his home or mine, to hear him

and the late Dr. F. Trestrail, a fellow student of his, talk of the old times and of grand old men and others who lived in them. The Doctor was never quite at ease and never spoke his best unless, if there was a fire, he was sitting close to it with a poker in his hand, with which every few minutes he stirred the fire. Once he was on a visit to a local friend of his and mine: he sat, as was his wont, quite near the fire, and for mere mischief he laid hold of a handsome brass ornamental poker, and made as if he would plunge it into the fire. His hostess jumped up quickly to restrain him and put into his hand the "proper poker for poking the fire."

When a pastor at Merthyr a great Anti-Corn-Law League meeting was announced to be held in Manchester, and he and David Rhys Stephens, then of Newport, resolved in the manner of the time to preach their way to that meeting. They started upon their journey, preaching each night for some church on the way. Mr. Stephens, a true genius, preached the same sermon each night. One evening in the course of a couple of weeks, they were both seated in the pulpit of a country town where they were to preach, Mr. Davies being younger, having to preach first. The Bible was open and the time for the sermon had about come. Stephens was rather surprised to find the Bible open where his text, much preached from, was to be found. He became alarmed, for he knew the humour and ready ability of his fellow-preacher. He asked him, "What are you going to preach from?" "O," said his friend, "I am going to have your text and preach your sermon, for I know it as well as you do." Stephens begged him not to do this, and promised to vary his texts and his sermons. The request was, of course, granted. I heard the Doctor relating this incident more than once.

He was an open Communionist throughout his public life if not before, and it was in his time and by his suggestion that the High Street Church first allowed non-Baptists to share in the Lord's Supper. But after settling at Haverfordwest, he never, I think, obtruded his views in either church or college, for both were supposed to be "strict," though, to my knowledge, the professors of the Haverfordwest College were often suspected of not being orthodox on this question, and at times this feeling found voice in the Association gatherings and in the denominational organs.

In him there was a marvellous combination of strength and refinement, of firmness and sympathy. He was a great visitor of the sick and poor, and his visits were always welcome and greatly appreciated.

It was on a Sabbath morning, March 10, 1895, at the age of eighty-two, that he passed on to the Eternal Sabbath, the rest that remaineth to the people of God. The funeral was very largely attended by personal friends and by representatives from every part of the country. He was interred in Machpelah, the burying ground of the local Baptists, where are the remains of very many whom the Doctor knew and loved, one colleague (Mr. Burditt), several pupils, a goodly number of former co-workers in church and college, and, above all now, of his admirable wife, only four years a widow, who in culture and in all womanly graces, was fit companion for him who was one of the foremost presidents, and one of the greatest men that Wales has ever produced. While rejoicing in the increased advantages which are enjoyed to-day, educational, social and religous, it ill becomes us to forget the men, aye, and the women, too, who have handed on to us the heritage into which we have entered.

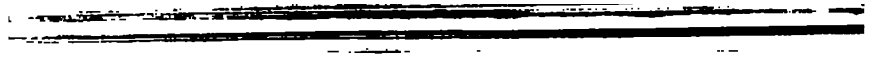


Photo. by [*John Williams, Rhyl.*

THOMAS GEE (Denbigh).

THOMAS GEE,

Publisher, Newspaper Proprietor, Minister of the Gospel.
Born January 24, 1815; died September 28, 1898.

By the REV. RICHARD ROBERTS,
Westbourne Grove, London.

I.

A YOUNG Welsh printer came to London in the year of Grace 1836, in order to gain a wider experience of his trade and a larger outlook upon the world. The event thus barely told seems commonplace enough, but it went to the making of much history.

To make an intelligible story of what was happening in London and in England at that time, one would need to tell first of all how it came to pass that Englishmen were so slow to discern the justice of that principle of political liberty which underlay the French Revolution. Many circumstances might be adduced in explanation of this fact; but it is beyond doubt that it was not until Napoleon had been safely lodged on St. Helena, and Englishmen's minds were released from the European problem that the great message of the French Revolution began effectually to leaven the political thought of England. Certainly the state of England was favourable to such a development. The perplexing problems which the so-called Industrial Revolution had induced had found no solution; and the privation and distress prevalent throughout England in the later years of the first decade of the Nineteenth Century caused riots and tumults in many places, to which the Government of the time could make no more effective response than the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the enactment of a series of harsh repressive measures.

Nothing could, perhaps, show more clearly the ineptitude of the responsible ministers of the time than this method of approaching the problem which faced them; but nothing could have so effectively prepared the soil in which the ideal of political liberty was presently to strike root. "The history of England," in consequence, "since 1820 has been the history of the growth of popular power—of the growth of democracy." Things moved slowly at first; but by 1828 the new impulse had made sufficient headway to enable, or more properly, perhaps, to compel the Tories of the day to remove the worst of the restrictions on religious liberty by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The first substantial achievement, however, of the new spirit was the Reform Bill of 1832, which effected a complete change in the character of the House of Commons. The day of the nobleman and the squire came to an end, and the well-to-do middle classes came into power. The working classes, however, had still no voice in the national government, and tended more and more to become sceptical of the value of political action, believing that they could the more effectively and speedily work out their own salvation independently of the politicians.

There is, perhaps, nothing so significant in the history of popular movements than the enthusiasm which prevailed in the early thirties for the co-operative schemes which had emerged from the ideas of Robert Owen, and were inspired by his own brilliant, if erratic, leadership. The failure of Robert Owen's fantastic Labour Exchange in 1835 discredited the co-operative movement and it remained under a cloud for many years.

This, in conjunction with other circumstances, served to give impetus to a movement which was destined to play a great part in the history of English Democracy—the Chartist movement with its splendid faith in the State

and the People. It grew apace, and in 1838, Feargus O'Connor laid down the Five Points of the "People's Charter." In 1839, Attwood laid before Parliament the "National Petition" of the Chartists, the contemptuous reception of which by the Commons led to serious disturbances. Of these the most conspicuous and interesting was John Frost's march upon Newport.

All this would certainly be a highly irrelevant introduction to a study of Thomas Gee, were it not that it was in the very midst of this ferment that he came to London. The printers of London have always been conspicuously associated with popular and labour movements, and certainly that was the case in the "thirties." Gee must have been living in an atmosphere highly charged with the Chartist temper, and heard much discussion of the matter. There is no clear evidence that he was at all directly implicated in the movement; but as one looks out broadly over the record of his after years, and sees his intense popular sympathies, his passion for political liberty, his strenuous faith in political action, one cannot help the feeling that he learnt his political philosophy in that best of all political schools, London in the later "thirties."

There was, however, in those days another ideal asserting itself. It has been said that "the two greatest political forces of the nineteenth century were nationality and democracy." The former was receiving its most eloquent expression in the "thirties" at the hands of Mazzini. In 1835 he published "Faith and the Future," primarily the manifesto of Young Italy, but in the event it has proved a political scripture of the first importance. Mazzini came to London an exile while Gee was still there; and it was from London that the great Italian sent out to the world some of his most characteristic

work. The nationality of the English people had in consequence of their insular position never been questioned; but since the time of Canning they had sympathised with the national movements on the Continent,—a sufficiently curious circumstance when it is considered in conjunction with the tardy recognition in England of the national rights of Wales. But it was in Wales that the new national ideals were to accomplish some of their greatest results. Whether Gee learnt anything directly from Mazzini it is impossible to tell; but the spirit of nationalism was in the air, and it would have been strange indeed if it had failed to infect the sensitive soul of the young Welshman. For Wales was to all intents and purposes what Metternich had called Italy, "a geographical expression." There was no quick universal sense of nationality at home and in consequence no recognition of it in England.

Thus, we may with some confidence surmise, in the same school, Thomas Gee learnt those principles of democracy and nationality which, next to his religious faith, became the controlling factors of his life. May we not in some degree ascribe to this fact the not unremarkable circumstance that in Wales the ideals of nationalism and democracy struck root and grew side by side?

II.

Thomas Gee was born in the year of Waterloo. His father had come to Wales at the invitation of Thomas Jones of Denbigh, one of the greatest of Welsh nonconformist leaders to manage a printing press which he had set down for the purpose of producing religious literature in Welsh. Gee, like Saunderson who went to Bala in response to a like invitation from Thomas Charles, was an Englishman; but he domiciled himself in Wales,

learnt its language, took to wife one of its daughters; and ultimately, having bought for himself Thomas Jones' printing press, he laid the foundation of the great printing-house at Denbigh, which has been regarded, not without justice, as one of the first of Welsh national assets. Young Thomas Gee was sent to school at Denbigh and Wrexham, returning to Denbigh in 1829, a lad of fourteen, to learn his father's business in the mornings, and to attend school in the afternoons. That he gave obvious promise of his future capacity is clear from the fact that certain astute ecclesiastics sought to entice him into the ministry of the English Church. Had they succeeded, how differently might the history of Wales have had to be written! Fortunately for Wales, he stuck to his trade; and when he was twenty one years of age he was sent up to London to finish his business education, and (though it was no part of the original design) to gain those political ideals his advocacy of which was in time to make his name a household word in the cottages of Wales.

For, in very truth, there was no part of the United Kingdom which stood in need of political enlightenment and leadership as did Wales at that period. Since the Methodist Revival, Welsh interests had been almost exclusively religious. The great Nonconformist leaders such as John Elias supported the old political order, though it is interesting to record the fact (which has probably more bearing on our present study than we can altogether appreciate) that Thomas Jones was altogether radical in his political sympathies. Literature had not been altogether neglected, but it was not a national interest in any very broad sense. Social conditions of the very worst kind had been endured patiently; and there does not seem to have been any very quick or general

sense of their injustice or their remediability, or any organised movement for their removal or reform.

Reference has already been made to Thomas Gee's sensitiveness of spirit. He had all the sensitiveness and imagination of the Celt; and this combined with a Teutonic gift of deliberate judgement, gave him the first essential quality of leadership,—the capacity for a true, broad and swift apprehension of the inner meaning of a given situation. When he returned to Wales, it was with this natural gift of leadership quickened by contact with the outer world, with a high passion for political liberty, and its inevitable corollary, religious equality, and with that ideal of nationality which he made it peculiarly his business to establish in Wales. He came back laden with the equipment necessary for the great part which he was in the coming years to play in the life of Wales.

Gee's London life was productive of a friendship which was in the fulness of time to mean much for Wales. The future Sir Hugh Owen had come to London at the same time as Gee; and it is not fanciful to trace to this early friendship that long association of after years which contributed in so great measure to the establishment of the modern Welsh Educational System. It is significant at least that Gee's first definite appearance in the arena of politics was upon the question of education, the occasion being the hostility aroused by Sir James Graham's Education Bill of 1846. In the protest of the following year against the report of the Parliamentary Committee on Welsh Education, a report the character of which is sufficiently indicated by the fact that its appearance has been handed down in Welsh history as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision*, the "Blue-Book Betrayal," Thomas Gee took no small part.

III.

In the year 1842, Thomas Gee was married to Miss Hughes of Plas Coch, and thus began a family life which those who were privileged to know it have described as being as nearly perfect as possible. To the loving care of his wife and the consistent peace of his home, are to be attributed in large measure Gee's long life and his inexhaustible energy. From all the worry and turmoil of his public life, he found within his own family circle recreation and rest that never failed. The early years of his married life were also years of great literary enterprise. The old press had already turned out some great books, —the Myfyrian Archœology and Prys' Dictionary, among others. In 1845, "*Y Traethodydd*" first appeared under the joint editorship of Dr. Lewis Edwards of Bala and Roger Edwards of Mold. What that publication did, especially in its early life, for the thought of Wales, it would be hard to tell. For the less educated classes "*Y Geiniogwerth*" appeared in 1847. It may be that this venture was premature but it certainly ministered not a little to that literary culture which characterises the working folk of Wales to-day. In 1854 "*Y Gwyddioniadur Cymraeg*" the classical and only Welsh Encyclopædia began to be published under the brilliant editorship of Dr. John Parry of Bala; and before it was completed it had involved an outlay of eighteen thousand pounds. It is no part of our present concern to deal with these literary enterprises; but it is beyond question that their educational value has been enormous. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the growing feeling of nationality in Wales in the following years received its most substantial impetus from these publications.

In 1857 was first issued "*Y Faner*," the great newspaper with which Thomas Gee's name is most intimately

associated in the Welsh mind. Two years later, another journal, "*Yr Amserau*," already sixteen years old, was incorporated; and in a very short time "*Baner ac Amserau Cymru*" had a national circulation. It was, and indeed still is, the greatest newspaper published in Wales. On its first staff were men such as *Gwilym Hiraethog*, *y Gohebydd*, *Gweirydd ap Rhys*, and *Llew Llwyfo*, the "old guard" of modern Welsh liturature. It would be difficult to describe adequately the influence of the paper on the life of Wales. It was well written,—an unique circumstance, even in present day Welsh journalism,—its views were sane and well reasoned; it was distinctively Welsh in character, and it met the need of the time fully and exactly. By its sheer worth it won its way into the homesteads of the whole country and with its appearance began the direct education of the Welsh people at large, in national and political ideals.

IV.

"*Y Traethodydd*," "*Y Gwyddioniadur*," "*Y Fanerr*," these achievements alone would entitle Gee to a place among the immortals. By these means the best thought of the time became the common property of the people in a way which has scarcely a historical parallel. But this was only one aspect of Gee's many-sided life. It is beside our present purpose to speak of his service to the Christian religion as a preacher of the Gospel, and especially by his practical interest in the Sunday Schools. Our immediate concern is with the politician and the educational enthusiast, and this alone involves us in a long story. Gee knew his own mind concerning the needs of the Welsh people and saw that "*Y Fanerr*" expressed it. In the interval between the educational controversy of 1846-7 and the first publication of "*Y Fanerr*" his mind had matured in many ways. A more intimate knowledge

of the conditions forced him into his life-long war against privilege and vested interest, and he was never found far from the thick of the fight.

There was plenty of fighting to be done. The Welsh people were suffering from a complex alliance of vested interests. The Landlord and the Church separately and together exacted an excessive toll upon the life of the country. The Church of England demanded its rate for the upkeep of its ordinances from the unwilling people; and Gee's first direct conflict with Church interests was in his refusal to pay this rate, in consequence of which he suffered process at law and distraint. The landlord aided and abetted the Church in this exaction and there are those still alive who remember Gee's heckling of "Sir Watkin" on the hustings at Denbigh during the election of 1865 concerning that baronet's treatment of his tenants The Tithe question forced Gee to assume the same attitude at a later period; though, as we shall see, his objection was not so much to the payment of Tithes but to their diversion from their original national uses to merely sectarian purposes. The gravest evil of all, however, was the ignorance, narrowness and avarice of the average Welsh landlord, and it was to this that Gee came wholly to ascribe the grave condition of the farmer and his labourers.

Gee was far sighted enough to perceive that the first need of the time was education. An ignorant people can never rise to independence. From the beginning Gee advocated the establishment of schools, and here again he found himself forced to a fight. The Church of England claimed a privilege in the matter of education; and its power was sufficient to secure the preferential treatment of its own schools over all others in matters of financial aid and the like. The "British" schools, which had been

established in increasing numbers since Hugh Owen had written his famous "Letter to the Welsh People," and John Phillips became the North Wales agent of the British and Foreign School Society in 1843, were in this way put in a position of disability compared with the schools of the National Society. Efforts were made to amend this state of things. In 1862, Gee acted as secretary to a deputation which interviewed Lord Granville and the Board of Education to prefer a request that the British Schools should receive money grants equal in amount to those given to the National Schools. But the worst of Nonconformist grievances in this province were shortly to be removed as the result of circumstances in which Gee played no inconsiderable part.

The Enfranchisement Bill of 1867, turned the thoughts of leading Welsh Liberals, to the question of Welsh Parliamentary Representation. Mainly through the instrumentality of Gee, a convention of Welsh Liberals was held at Liverpool shortly after the defeat of Disraeli's government, to prepare for the election then obviously imminent. At this gathering the *Welsh League* was formed, and this may be taken as marking the beginning of organised Welsh political nationalism. The result of the elections of November 1868 is sufficiently well known, and most of the promoters of the League found themselves in Parliament. Gee himself refused to become a candidate; but George Osborne Morgan, Henry Richard, Morgan Lloyd, Watkin Williams, and John Roberts won seats and became the vanguard of that notable and increasing body of men who have since that time represented the ideals of Welsh nationalism at the seat of government. How much Gee did directly and through "*Y Faner*" to accomplish thisresult is a story it would take long to tell. No man did more than he, and that is

saying much when account is taken of the company of elect men who shared the enterprise. The figures of Thomas Gee and his friends of that time assume historical dimensions, when it is affirmed (as without exaggeration it may be) that a new epoch in Welsh history began in 1868. After so long a time, the great ideal of the greatest of Welsh mediæval statesmen, Llewelyn Fawr, came within sight of accomplishment. Surely it is no mere coincidence that another great ideal of nationality first of all conceived by the most imposing figure of Llewelyn Fawr's century and the next, the poet of the Divina Commedia, should at the same time though by other means be also approaching its realisation. It was two years only after this great modern uprising of Welsh nationalism that the fall of the Papacy removed the last barrier in the way of an United Italy.

V.

The events that followed the election of 1868 served to fasten the significance of the new thing which had appeared very firmly upon the mind of the country. In Wales, nationalism and democracy inevitably became synonyms. Dissociated in great measure on the Continent in the previous years, they regained their natural association as political factors in Wales. The anti-democratic forces in the country were also in great part anti-national; and it is difficult to determine whether it was the outrage against nationality or the outrage against democracy involved in the persecutions by Tory Landlords of their tenants who had had the temerity to vote for the Liberals at the election, that more deeply stirred the feeling and the imagination of the country. Probably there was no conscious dissociation of the two things. In any case, the landlords could not have in any conceivable way served the interests of both democracy and

nationality in Wales better than by their action at that time; and their power was in the issue largely broken by the Ballot Act of 1872.

In the meantime, however, the Liberal Government had set its hand to the question of national education. In 1869 the Endowed Schools Act provided for the better administration of secondary education; but the greater achievement of that Parliament was the Education Act of 1870. This was an act of "clever compromises" and had, therefore, no quality of permanence. It was, nevertheless, the first substantial step in the direction of a system of national education. The provision for the establishment of local "school boards" did much for the extension of educational facilities and for the improvement of the quality of elementary education. The Act had many defects, as subsequent controversies have proved; and it was certainly not conceived by Welsh educationists to meet the need of Wales. It is significant, however, of the new spirit in which Wales was beginning to conceive her place in the commonwealth of Britain that a deputation, to which Thomas Gee acted as secretary waited on Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster to urge certain amendments in favour of Wales. When the Act was passed, Gee threw himself with the utmost energy into the business of expounding its scope and meaning. School Boards began to spring up, and Welsh education which had hitherto been a monopoly of the Established Church began to pass into the hands of the democracy. What strides Welsh elementary education has made since that day, it is the business of others to tell. The new Nationalists understood that the future of Wales depended on its education; and they set themselves to kindle an enthusiasm for education among the people. Their success has witness in that passion for education

which has by now become a proverbial characteristic of the Welsh nation, and which has led to what is, in theory certainly, and probably in practice, the most complete and fully co-ordinated system of national education.

The educational struggles of those years helped to reveal and accentuate the anomaly of a Church Establishment which could claim the adherence of only a small fraction of the Welsh people. This led up to a cry for disestablishment. Gee's attitude on this question was quite clear and definite. It was based upon two main grounds. The Established Church was essentially an alien institution, its constituency was an insignificant minority of the people. Its claims to a national character could not possibly be substantiated on any ground. But Gee looked at the question in a broader light than this. A Church Establishment anywhere was repugnant to him, because the State had no concern with religion. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts had secured religious liberty; but it did not remove the injustice involved in the privilege granted to one religious community over others by virtue of its State-connection. Religious liberty is not complete until it rests on religious equality. The existence of an establishment moreover implied in theory the perpetuation of the obsolete principle that religion was to be defended and enforced by the civil arm; and Gee, like Bishop Thirlwall, found the distinction between compulsory religion and no religion at all too subtle for his comprehension. The disestablishment campaign of the "eighties" was, however, in the main animated by the national principle; and it is the same principle which supplies it with its strongest impulse still. The struggle against the Church Rates had ceased with their abolition in 1869; but the same principle was involved in the payment of Tithes; and

ideals were most effectively propagated through "*Y Faner*." Indeed, one of the greatest traditions of "*Y Faner*," to wit, its association with "*Y Gohebydd*," links it in a very definite way with the early days of the University movement,—for Sir Hugh Owen had no more effective lieutenant than the brilliant London correspondent of "*Y Faner*." Before his death, three months after the issue of the epoch-making report of 1881, Sir Hugh Owen had won the battle of modern Welsh Education; and no one had given him more consistent help than the friend he had made in London nearly half a century before.

VI.

If the fight for education had been won, there were other fights in store. The land problem was becoming acute. When the future Land Bill for Wales is passed and its story written, two names will stand out honoured among the pioneers of the land reform agitation. The one is Michael Jones, and the other is Thomas Gee. Michael Jones was an idealist, whose views of land reform were woven together by a passionate nationalism, and, with a dash of the Pilgrim Father spirit, he saw a New Wales rising beyond the sea. But Gee was more utilitarian—I do not say practical, for it is mere ignorance that calls the visionary unpractical. He looked at the land question from the point of view of the farmer almost exclusively. He does not, as far as I can gather, seem to have touched the deeper economic questions involved in landownership and taxation. The evil he fought was not landlordism in itself, but bad landlordism. With the exception of Ireland, landlordism, a bad institution at the best, never showed itself at its worst so manifestly as in Wales. The agricultural depression of 1885-6 served to force the question of the land to the front, and the somewhat tardy Land Commission before which Gee gave

evidence in 1890, and which was appointed largely through his endeavours, was called into existence on account of the desperate plight of the Welsh Farmer. In 1815 the total rental of Wales was £1,932,000; in 1889, it was £3,273,191. During that period it had increased seventy per cent., while in the same period in England the advance had only been five per cent. By 1890, the Welsh rent roll produced £3,127,398, a reduction of five per cent., while that year saw a reduction in England of twenty per cent. This sufficiently indicates the character of the average Welsh landlord. But it was not the heavy rent alone that crushed the Welsh farmer. The reduction of the price of corn, and a corresponding depreciation in the value of stock, especially of sheep and their wool, contributed largely to this sad state of things. Gee admitted in his evidence before the Land Commission that this was a result of Free Trade; but he was too true to the common interests of the whole people to desire a return to a fiscal system by which the agricultural minority alone would profit. The increase in labourers' wages and in mechanics' charges, the iniquitous and useless system of "lords of the manor," the game nuisance aggravated by the organised terrorism of English gamekeepers, all these were additional factors in an already over complex problem. The prejudice against Nonconformists, for the Welsh landlord is invariably an English Churchman, induced a feeling of insecurity which robbed the farmer of all incentive to make the best of his land, a sense further aggravated by the knowledge that so far from obtaining compensation for any improvements that he might make upon his farm, he was liable to an increase of rent on account of those very improvements.

What was the remedy to be, then? Scientific farming?

No, said Gee. That was in no better plight than poor farming under the conditions then obtaining. The abolition of tithes? No, said Gee, again. The tithes were national property now diverted to sectarian uses, but in due time to be restored to their original purpose. What was to be done then? An Act, said Gee, should be placed on the statute book to secure for every farmer his farm, at a fair rent, giving him fixity of tenure and compensation for all improvements. To adjust the rent and compensation, a Land Court should be established, as in Ireland. In this court should be vested the power of compulsory revision and reduction of rents on the basis of the value of agricultural produce in the markets of the country. Gee traced all the trouble to the absolute power of the landlords to fix and increase rents, to expel their tenants at their will. He saw that reform must therefore lie in some such limitation of the landlords' power as a Land Court would supply. He would have nothing to say to a system of government loans to enable tenant farmers to purchase their holdings, because he saw that in time the power of capitalists and syndicates would tend to reproduce the very evils he was then seeking to remove.

VII.

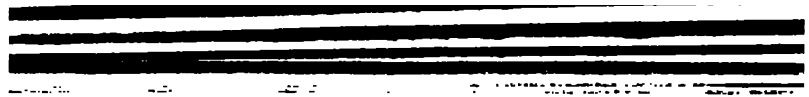
The Land Court has not yet come; and when Land Reform does come, Gee's proposals will seem to demand less than the enlightened public conscience of the twentieth century will deem just. The Tory Domination of the last decade has very effectively prevented any advance in the direction of land reform and religious equality. It has been unable to withstand the force of the education movement. The Intermediate Schools, the Central Welsh Board, the Welsh University, each in turn came to complete a national system of education. The

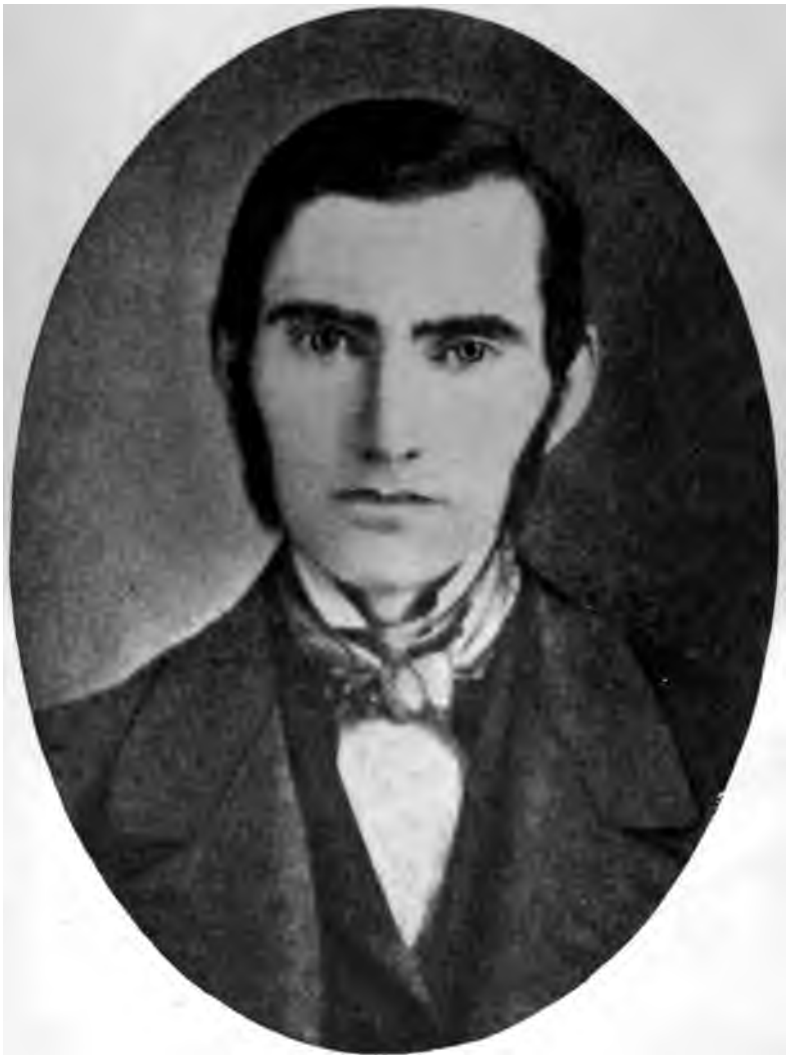
great causes of land reform and religious equality yet await their triumph, but the day is at hand.

No account of Gee could pretend to be complete which failed to make mention of his advocacy of temperance and his enthusiasm for local government. This brief reference must suffice. When the County Councils were established in 1888, Thomas Gee was elected the first chairman of the Denbighshire council, and though he was seventy-three years of age he discharged the office with characteristic thoroughness. It is almost superfluous to add, that though he dissented from some of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals in 1886, he was in theory a convinced Autonomist and favoured the application of the principle to Wales.

Thomas Gee stood, in his day, for all that was best and most progressive in Welsh political thought; and his great abilities were put gladly and abundantly into the service of Welsh nationalism. If he did not possess unique originality, he was among the first to discern clearly the needs of Wales and he fought with pertinacity to effect those changes which were necessary and urgent.

It was not his misfortune to pass away before knowing that his country fully acknowledged its debt to him. He received signal appreciation of his abundant service in his election as first president of the Welsh National Council and in the National Testimonial which took the form of a gift of a thousand pounds in 1897. Other marks of public affection gladdened the declining years of his life, and he had reason to know how well his country loved him. He died full of years and honours on September 28, 1898, having seen much of the travail of his soul, and if not satisfied, yet confident that there passed no hour which did not "draw on to the perfect day" in the story of the land which he loved as his own life.





REV. EVAN JONES ("IEUAN GWYNEDD").

REV. EVAN JONES.

(IEUAN GWYNEDD).

Born 1820; *died* 1852.

By the REV. DAVID GRIFFITHS, *Bethel, Carnarvon.*

WALES has been the mother of many giants, but few whom she has brought forth and sternly nursed have made to themselves a name more worthy of her than the subject of this brief memoir. Among the numerous celebrities who shed lustre on their nation and country during the Victorian Era, he shone forth as a star of the first magnitude sparkling with brightness that was all its own. Being of humble origin, he had to work his way to eminence through difficulties that to ordinary minds would have appeared insurmountable. But to him they were not so, for he was of a heroic turn of mind. Mountains melted away before the magic wand of the faith that was in him. No! neither poverty, nor disappointments, nor abandoned schemes could chill the ardour of his sacred ambition, "Onward" was his motto, God was his strength and universal excellence his glorious aim. Though short, his life was full of striking incidents, and pregnant with mighty deeds. His efforts on behalf of civil and religious liberty, and the honour of his nation, were marvellous to behold. As patriot, poet, preacher, editor, critic, and writer in prose and poetry, his name deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance. Posterity, no doubt, cannot but receive with admiration the history of one who, owing to his untiring energy and commanding powers of mind, so widely blessed a preceding generation. His life conveys a lesson which the youthful reader would do well to study with attention. His early career affords a striking example of what a strong and resolute

mind can accomplish for its own improvement notwithstanding the formidable difficulties incident to humble birth, and depressing circumstances. Hence the writer of this article persuades himself that he will be listened to with lively interest, while he endeavours to sketch the most important incidents of his life; and then, to delineate some of the most striking traits of his character.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Evan Jones was a native of Merionethshire, and was born on September 20, 1820, at a small farm-house called Bryn Tynoriad, in the neighbourhood of Rhydymain, and to be seen near Drwsynant Station, as you go by rail from Dolgelley to Bala. His parents, Evan and Catharine Jones, though not wealthy, were respectable, and like their ancestors were highly esteemed by their neighbours on account of their probity and pious demeanour. They were married at Dolgelley in the year 1808, where they resided until 1810, when they removed to Amnodd, a small farm situated somewhere between Llanuwchllyn and Bala. Whilst there they attended on the ministry of Dr. George Lewis and were united in fellowship with the Church, which was under his pastoral care at Llanuwchllyn. Dr. Lewis was at that time in the heyday of his popularity as a preacher, minister and theologian. His influence for good in that part of the country was incalculable. The whole neighbourhood became enlightened in regard to theological matters to an uncommon degree, and out of it at that time there issued forth a greater number of able and eloquent preachers then happened elsewhere in any part of the country. Evan and Catharine Jones had reason to be thankful ever afterwards for what they had seen and felt during their connection with the Church at Llanuwchllyn.

In 1814 they removed from Amnodd to Bryn Tynoriad, where the subject of this sketch was born and also baptised immediately afterwards by the Rev. Cadwaladr Jones, of Dolgelley, and named Evan after his father. At the time he was so weak that it was thought he would not live long. But he was not to die then. God had some work for him to do ere he would leave the world. In 1824, the family removed to Tycroes, an old-fashioned cottage near Bontnewydd Station, and about three miles from Dolgelley. The parents had five children in all, three daughters and two sons. The daughters died in their infancy, and soon after settling down at Tycroes John, their eldest son, turned out to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Later on he removed to the neighbourhood of Carnarvon, where he worked as a mason, and joined the Wesleyans, remaining faithful among them as an office-bearer to the end. The eldest son having thus left home, to earn a livelihood elsewhere, the parents now had only "Evan bach," as his mother was apt to call him, to take care of in days to come.

EARLY LIFE AT TYCROES.

Our subject was about four years of age when his parents resolved on removing from Bryn Tynoriad to this place, where he remained with them for the twelve following years to be nursed and fondled by them, on account of his delicate health, in the best way they could think of. Both were anxious to bring him up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord"; their principles were pure, and their piety sincere and unaffected. It is true, however, that he owed more to his mother for his future eminence than to his father, as will be seen presently. Catharine Jones in every way was a remarkable woman. When young, and away from home in service,

her most ardent wish was to become owner of a Bible. Someone advised her to go to the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, who was known to be willing to give copies of the Word of God to young people of good character, on their promising to pay for their copies by instalments as they received their wages. She went, received a large copy, for which she paid honestly, and in due time. Greatly did she prize the sacred volume. In order that this copy might not be soiled, she prepared for it a cover of red cloth, whereby it came to be known ever afterwards as the Red Bible (Bible coch). Subsequently she became engaged in service at Wrexham, Chester and other places; but wherever she went, she took the Red Bible with her, to pore over its pages during leisure hours, which she always did with great delight. Her mind being thus saturated with the teachings of God's Holy Word, we need not wonder on finding that she felt most anxious that her beloved Evan should, "from a child," know the Holy Scriptures, because of their being able through faith in Christ to make him "wise unto salvation." We have not been left in the dark as to the devotion and diligence wherewith she instructed him "in the way he should go."

In his autobiography, he himself has made this apparent enough. In fact, she began to instruct him as soon almost as he was able to speak. Often of an evening he would be seen sitting on her knee learning to read, and listening attentively to some one of the many enchanting histories of the Bible. When about six years of age he began to attend the Sunday School at Brithdir, and soon became conspicuous as a diligent student in the Word of God. At that time there happened to be a day school at the same place, which he also attended until it was discontinued. Subsequently, for short periods now

and then, he attended schools that were kept at Llanfachreth, Rhydymain and Dolgelley. His teacher at the latter place observed that he had the most retentive memory of any lad he ever saw. Observations of the same nature were often made by members of the Sunday School at Brithdir. He could repeat whole chapters of the Bible without even missing a word; and he often did so in public by request, standing on a bench in order that all might see and hear him. Upwards and onward was still his motto. He and his friend, Edward Roberts, of Tynygaer (afterwards "Roberts of Cwmavon"), by wisely husbanding their time, became far ahead of all their compeers in Biblical knowledge. So quickly were they raised from a secondary to the highest class that it was commonly said they had become "wiser than all their teachers."

Like other men who arose to eminence, the subject of this sketch while yet a child, evidenced a fondness for books, which to many was really surprising. At Tycroes, however, there was not much at first to satisfy his wishes. Of course, the Red Bible was there, and the "Pilgrim's Progress"; and Morgan Llwyd's immortal work "The Book of the Three Birds," and the "Wells of Salvation," by Jones, of Pwllheli; together with a hymn book, a bundle of pamphlets with Bardd Cwsg and a few isolated sermons. He ardently wished to have a great deal more, consequently his good mother, being intent to encourage him to go on with his studies, went round calling at houses where good libraries were to be found, begging for the loan of some of the books, for the use of her greatly beloved son. She pleaded not in vain, for thus she managed to bring home with her at different times such works as Dr. Gill's "Commentary"; the "History of Great Britain," by Titus Lewis; "Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru," and many other

valuable works which Evan devoured with the greatest avidity. Before he was nine years of age he had read them all, and some of them several times over. When eating his meals he had a book before him always. Often at dinner time, or when some other meal was ready, he would not be seen near the house, but a good way off at the corner of some adjacent field, or sitting among the trees or rocks within sight of the river Wnion, poring over the pages of some interesting book which he had not seen before. Never would he go to bed at night without his book, and many a time did he continue to read till the dawn of another day. This reminds us, in part, of what Dr. Johnson, in his "Lives of the Poets," says of the English poet Shenstone, who when a boy, after learning to read, "soon received such delight from books that he was always calling for fresh entertainment, and expected that, when any of the family went to market, a new book should be brought him which, when it came, was in fondness carried to bed, and laid by him. Here, however, the comparison must end, for "it is said that when his request had been neglected, his mother wrapt up a piece of wood of the same form and pacified him for the night," but the mother of our youthful reader never had occasion to resort to such a stratagem as that as means for pacification.

Already he had given his mother to understand that he had a desire to become a preacher, and a poet as well. The idea pleased her and she had some sort of presentiment that some day he would obtain celebrity in both capacities. His father, however, had other thoughts in his mind. He felt aggrieved that his son should lose so much valuable time in reading books and collecting information which probably would be of no use whatever to him in after life. When he found that he meant to be

a poet he gave him up for lost. Had he thought of turning his hand to some sort of manual labour he would have been mightily pleased. He had great regard for the rule laid by the apostle in writing to the Thessalonians, viz: "that if any would not work neither should he eat." Evidently he was "blind" at that time, and could not see "afar off." He lived to see that his former sentiments were wrong, while those of his partner in life were of an opposite character.

Well, the most cherished desire of the mother's heart was, that her "Evan bach" should become a preacher, and serve God faithfully in the Gospel of his Son. Probably they had before them in mellowed light, the instance of the late lamented "Pugh of Brithdir" who, during a short life, had been an instrument in God's hand of turning many to righteousness, and secure for himself a name whose fragrance would last for many an age to come. However, when he was about five or six years of age, his mother, while busily engaged with household matters, would ask him to stand or sit near the big table, to read to her portions of the Holy Scriptures, in order to teach him to read and emphasise properly as a preacher, and often would he go on to deliver a sermon of his own from some favourite text of the Divine Word, dividing the subject as ministers are wont to do in the pulpit. And when his mother happened to be away he would go out and stand on the big stone near the doorway, generally used for washing purposes, but used by him as a platform to deliver a sermon with uplifted hands before the big oak and the trees that stood opposite, as he had no better hearers for the time being. Later on, he evinced a determination to become famous as a votary of the muse. When about ten years old he ventured to place in the hands of the editor of the "*Dysgedydd*" a number of verses

of his own composition coupled with the request that he would be kind enough to allow them to appear in that Miscellany, in which he already took the greatest interest. Mr. Jones, by whom he had been baptized, readily acceded to his request, notwithstanding the crudeness of the verses. In after years the poet regretted their appearance, observing that however fair they appeared at first, they now looked "ugly as crocodiles." Subsequently his poetic effusions became numerous, many of them being known to his neighbours though never printed. In the meantime he went on steadily to master the Metres called the Mesurau Caethion laid down many centuries ago by Dafydd ap Edmwnt and others. At last, by dint of perseverance, he became as proficient as any of the Welsh poets, in producing good and readable Englynion and Awdlau, according to the specific rules of ancient Welsh poetry.

In 1836, for the first time in his life, he became a competitor for Eisteddfodic honours. The occasion was the holding an Eisteddfod at Bala, which was to take place in August of that year under the presidency of Sir W. W. Wynn. Among the subjects for which prizes were awarded, the chiefest was a poem in memory of the late renowned lexicographer, Dr. W. O. Pughe. There were eight competitors, the subject of this sketch being one of their number. His poem was highly praised, but the prize was divided between Gwalchmai and Gwilym Padran. His effort, however, did not prove in vain for, during the Eisteddfod, Mr. Aneurin O. Pughe, son of Doctor Pughe, had an opportunity of seeing his composition, and so greatly pleased was he, that after being informed about the age and circumstances of the author, he presented him with a handsome gift. At the time he was only in his sixteenth year. Previous to this,

the owner of Tycroes, L. Williams, Esq., of Fronwnion, a banker of the town, sympathising with his parents, took their son to his service. But he was too much of a book-worm to make a really good servant anywhere at that time. When ordered to do some work often would he be found reading instead of working; and when sent to town on an errand, instead of returning at once he would be seen going from the house of one literary friend to another in order to see some volumes, which he knew to be in their possession. The banker of course, took umbrage and, after a short trial, sent him home to his parents, thinking that no good would ever come of him. Evidently thus far he was not in the right place. After this, in the year 1836, he resolved on opening a day school at Brithdir, being engaged at the same time to carry the letter-bag up to Caerynwch, from the mail-cart which passed along the high road to Dolgelley, within sight of Tycroes—the distance to be traversed being somewhat less than two miles. At Caerynwch, he generally had something good to eat and beer to drink, of which he confessed that he, after a while, became rather fond of. Knowing this, there were among his acquaintances some youngsters of a frivolous disposition, being charmed with his lively conversation and sprightly poetic effusions, who, out of sincere regard, offered to treat him with a drink whenever he visited the town; but perceiving his danger, he happily escaped like a bird from the snare for the fowler and, be it remembered, that a great wave of religious revival passed over the country at that time, prefaced by a great Temperance Reformation, which took the form of total abstinence; and at the first meeting of that kind that was held at Brithdir, Evan Jones, Junior, of Tycroes, was about the first to take the pledge, which he faithfully kept to the close of his life.

Being thoroughly enthusiastic in supporting the said new movement and being a fluent speaker, he was often asked to address the sympathetic crowds, who attended the "teetotal meeting," in every nook and corner of the district. He also composed hymns and anthems, to be sung by the congregation and they were sung with a degree of enthusiasm that could not be surpassed. In the year 1837, on March 27, a great festival—a sort of Pentecost in connection with this Temperance Reformation—was to be held at Dolgelley. On that day, contingents with flying banners were to be seen nearing the town from different directions. When they met together around the Bigstone in High Street, they numbered from two to three thousand individuals, young and old of both sexes. It was a magnificent sight, and has been magnificently described by our subject's talented biographer, Mr, Robert Oliver Rees, of Dolgelley. To hear his own temperance hymns sung with such tremendous effect by that vast assembly, must have been to him a surprise, and a cause of untold gladness. Mr. Rees's description of him in his homely suit, and modest demeanour, standing in front of that great assembly, is most interesting, because most graphic. The following is too valuable to be left out here: "In that poor suit he wears, you see clear proofs that it was made for him several years ago, but do you see yonder pair of eyes beneath the simple hat he wears, which like the stars of the firmament have the effect of lighting and brightening his whole countenance? By the inward living spirit his whole body is moved in a mysterious way. In that young man we are to acknowledge an elect messenger of Heaven. By the name of 'Evan Tycroes' do people generally know him, but from something like a prophetical presentiment of brighter days to come he dares to call himself, in poetic

Welsh fashion, Ieuan Gwynedd. He is the author of the words, which on being sung electrify the spirits of that immense gathering so intensely; and in turn electrify his own spirit also. How pleasing and self-satisfied he seems to be! Of all the heroes present, one might think that he is the greatest hero of the day."

It is sad to relate how during that same year (1837) his day-school at Brithdir had to be discontinued through want of encouragement—no new thing certainly then, in regard to day schools in rural districts. For a time, his future prospects were now greatly beclouded. He scarcely knew on what hand to turn. For a good while past, he felt an intense desire to become a minister of the Gospel. From a child he had been made to feel the powers of the world to come, and at times, he was all along subject to deep religious impressions, and this we say, according to his own shewing. No one could doubt but that he had been made a partaker of the Divine nature, but he was not received as a member of the Church at Brithdir until September 24, 1837, his beloved minister, the Rev. C. Jones, officiating at the time. Soon after this, some members of the Church, in view of his talents, his ability to speak in public, his exemplary conduct, and his anxiety to do good on a large scale to his fellow-countrymen, suggested that it would be wise and proper to allow him to be recognised as a preacher at once. Mr. Jones, his father in the faith, felt anxious that it should be so, but the majority of the Church members stood firmly against the suggestion, maintaining that he was too young as a Church member to think of going about to preach the Kingdom of God. Evidently, for the most part they allowed themselves to be misled by one or two individuals who were sadly wanting in that Heavenly Grace, Charity, which suffereth long, is kind, and envieth

not. It was a sad mistake, clearly seen by them all when it was too late, there being found no place of repentance, and thus it was, that the Brithdir Church lost the honour of being instrumental in introducing to the pulpit one who not long afterwards came to be honoured as one of the greatest men of his age. As of old, how often it happeneth " that a prophet hath no honour in his own country."

This of course was a heavy blow to the parents, but more particularly to that son of theirs, of whom lately they had been brought to think so highly of. But when his prospects were enveloped in darkness at home, a friend succedeed in getting a place for him as schoolmaster at Llandwddyn, Montgomeryshire ; and thither he wended his way towards the end of November, in the same suit of clothes that he had on at Dolgelley in the spring of the year. Though poor in worldly wealth he was rich in faith, in mental power, in Christian virtues, crowned with a firm resolution to serve God and the public to the utmost extent of his powers, wherever he went. We are now to view him

AT LLANDWDDYN, BANGOR AND PENYBONTFAWR.

He did not stay long at either of these places. Vast changes have taken place at Llandwddyn since Ieuan went there in 1837. The old village together with the church and churchyard have been removed, to make room for the great reservoir which was planned and formed by the Corporation of Liverpool, at an immense cost to supply that city with water. The district as a whole, however, are much the same in appearance, as formerly. Within that district, there were two Independent chapels, viz. : Sardis and Saron, where the young schoolmaster from Brithdir was to exercise his functions as teacher of the young. By the people generally he was treated with

great kindness, but on two or three occasions, he had to undergo slight rebuffs. Unfortunately for him, he had to put up at first with a Church-going family, who thought more of their family avocations than of their religious duties; for he had great difficulty in persuading them to have prayers in the house. At Sardis again, where he was a church member, when it was proposed that he should be raised at once to the rank of a preacher, some one objected, as he was only a new-comer among them, saying it would be better to postpone the case for a while.

Being present, this new manifestation of unkindness went deep into his heart, so that his tears dropped down so profusely as to quench all opposition in a moment. Now, all was clear before him; but it was not there that he was to preach for the first time, but at Braichywaen, in the house of "Old John Breese," where the services were held in connection with the other congregations, until a chapel was built there. Of that day at Braichywaen, he wrote thus in his diary: "March 8, 1838—this Sabbath, I preached twice at Braichwaen. The first sermon, I ever preached was at 2 o'clock at the above place from James iv. 8; and at six in the evening from Heb. ix. 27. Oh after exhorting others to be prepared, how awful the thought of being myself a cast-away! May God enable me to ascend from this wilderness below, to the heavenly Canaan above; and also to seek 'the profit of many' as well as the glory of his own great name."

Soon after we find him at Penybontfawr, whither he went at the invitation of the Rev. David Price (Dewi Dinorwic) to open a school and to be his assistant in the ministry for a while. Mr. Price was then in the zenith of his popularity as a preacher, and well known everywhere for his commanding presence, and his sweet and

genial disposition. Ieuan ever afterwards felt that he owed much to Mr. Price.

In the beginning of 1839, Dr. Arthur Jones of Bangor, being well acquainted with his history, pressed on him to come over, and be a teacher under him in Dr. Edward Williams's School. A few weeks later on, Ieuan Gwynedd was there ready for work. Dr. Thomas of Liverpool, being then young and a member of Dr. Jones's church, and, like Ieuan, having an eye to the ministry, was present at Ebenezer Chapel to see and hear him during the first Sunday after his arrival. His description of him, as to dress, demeanour, action and eloquence on that day, as we find it in the article on Ieuan Gwynedd, in the first volume of the "History of the Welsh Independent Churches," is truly interesting, and most graphic. After mentioning the fact that he had travelled forty miles on foot the day before, he proceeds thus:

"He went straight on to the big seat, and after placing his well-worn hat on the table, looked up towards the pulpit, where the Doctor beckoned on him to come up. The congregation beheld him with surprise, for certainly they had never seen before such an instance of a real mountaineer standing up in the pulpit. He read a chapter in a bold, loud, and hasty way; and he prayed much in the same manner, without either tone or accent, pouring forth a constant stream of words, without impediment, and devoid of much devotion or pathos, as was thought by many. He preached from the words, "Stand still, and consider the wondrous works of God." He discoursed on the works of the Almighty in creation, providence and grace, pouring forth all along such a torrent of phrases and sentiments greatly to the astonishment of all who were present. It was a style of speaking quite different from anything they had ever heard before.

In three-quarters of an hour, he made use of more words than were uttered by any one in that pulpit on any previous occasion, we may be sure. Yet all felt that there was something extraordinary in that countrified young man, whoever he was. He had then grown to his full height, being about six feet high—a small head not thickly covered with hair, which appeared rather untidy, and seemed as if it had never been anointed with oil—his forehead narrow, on which no phrenologist would have given a favourable judgment, with the skin rippling when he threw out his eyelids, and when his blue, keen and penetrating eyes seemed to recede behind the shadow of his bushy eyebrows. His jawbones stood high, so that his cheeks seemed rather depressed. His lips were thin, and he pressed them together, when he had said, or was prepared to say something striking. His mouth and eyes were the most remarkable features of his countenance, but all his motions were characterised by authority, and masterly determination."

Even in Bangor, there was no abiding city for him. Before the end of the summer, Providence favoured him with the means of going to the famous Academy that was kept by the Rev. John Jones at Marton, where several young men were already under tuition, with the view of entering the ministry. From Marton after a while, he entered Brecon College, and we have now to view him

AS A STUDENT AT BOTH PLACES.

While at Marton, his assiduity and exemplary conduct, endeared him to all who had the happiness of knowing him. A more diligent student never existed. He mastered the English language with ease, wrote articles to the "*Shrewsbury Chronicle*," and was often in journeyings

to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to English congregations in Shropshire and elsewhere. Dr. Thomas being one of his fellow students at Marton, in the article quoted above, has the following observation: "Ieuan when at Marton, was one of the purest young men, as to habits that we ever knew. His heart abhorred all manner of deceit and hypocrisy, and he could not bear those who professed to be what they were not. He was remarkably economical and careful, being content to be without many things he could have wished to possess; but as he perceived that it would have been impossible to keep out of debt in that way, he was willing to be without them—a debt against a student being a thing he could not approve of."

Early in 1840, the devoted students at Marton,on finding that their beloved tutor was affected with a lingering and painful disease that could end only in death, left the place one after another, leaving behind them their esteemed fellow-student Evan Jones alone, who had promised to his dying pastor, that he would remain there for a while, to minister in sacred things to his sorrowful flocks at Marton and Ministerley. He did so reverently. On November 30 "Jones of Marton," died in peace, and the task of delivering his funeral sermon, as a matter of course, fell to the lot of his much beloved pupil Evan Jones, which he did effectually to larger congregations than had ever been seen before at Marton and Ministerley. The people at both places wished to have him as their future minister, but this could not be, as he had made up his mind to enter one of the colleges, in order to have his education for the ministry completed. To his honour be it said, that he stayed at Marton until he had written the departed worthy's memoir, and did more than can be described here towards securing pecuniary aid to his sorrowing family in their sad bereavement.

Having applied for admission as a student at Brecon College, thither he went after his case had been approved of by the Committee which met in June, 1841. He was then in the twenty-first year of his age, and full of aspirations for future eminence, and literary renown. The students with whom he had to associate there were eighteen in number.

Of these, five were from Merionethshire. Among these the name of Edward Roberts, afterwards of Cwmavon, and William Edwards, afterwards of Aberdare, ought not to be omitted. The Messrs. J. H. Hughes (Ieuan o Lleyn) and T. Roberts, afterwards of Llanrwst, were also there; in all a bright constellation, such as had not been seen before at Brecon College. Our Ieuan brought with him there all the good qualities wherewith he was adorned while a student of Marton. At once he entered on the studies of the year with the greatest zeal, and pursued them afterwards during the whole of his collegiate life with unremitting assiduity and perseverance. He studied Latin, Greek and Hebrew with pleasure, but the English language with greater alacrity still, as if knowing what a great use he would have to make of it in years to come. His piety was apparent to all, and his diligence wonderful. There was no rest for him except in work. On Sundays, he would generally be found supplying vacant pulpits in various towns and localities. On two occasions, owing to the distances he had to walk, cold ensued, followed by fever, which brought him nigh unto the gates of death. But as soon as convalescent, he would be at it again with might and main attending to his studies, or writing prize essays and poems, or contributing long and weighty articles by request to various magazines and newspapers, on some of the most important topics of the day. During the summer vacations, he would be out like

other students, collecting money throughout the district allotted to him, for the replenishing of the College funds. It was work he did not care for, but it was to be done, and he did it in a way that greatly redounded to his honour. In reference to one of these summer preaching tours, he wrote thus: "Nine weeks have passed since I have left Brecon. During this period I travelled upwards of five hundred miles, and three hundred of them on foot In order to reach Brecon again, I must travel one hundred and sixty more miles, at least. During this tour I had to address eighty public meetings." In this way and more especially by his writings, Ieuan Gwynedd's name became known everywhere. Numerous were the gifts presented to him by friends and admirers here and there, and numerous the "calls" he would have received had he, like some, been disposed to leave college ere his time was up. But he would hear of no such thing. The hand of the diligent maketh rich. Long before he left College, he could boast of his being the owner of a library. It contained more than 120 volumes and had cost him thirty pounds. In reference thereto, he said, It was his "dukedom," because, in fact, it was his all. From his childhood onwards, books were to him as the chiefest necessities of life. As the time for his leaving Brecon drew nigh, many "calls" from Churches in want of ministers reached him, but the one he received from Saron, Tredegar, pleased him most. We are now to take a hasty view of

HIS LIFE AT TREDEGAR.

It was on July 31, 1845, that his ordination took place. The occasion drew together a great company of preachers and ministers together with a vast concourse of people from various directions. Early next year he

was united in marriage with Miss Catherine Sankey, Rorington Hall, Shropshire, a most amiable young lady, whose acquaintance he had formed while a student at Marton. They lived happily together, but it was only for a short period, for on April 28, 1847, Mrs. Jones died at childbirth, and soon after their infant son died and was buried in the same grave as that of his mother. To Mr. Jones those days were days of darkness indeed, his own health at the time being far from good.

His connection with his people at Tredegar lasted only for about two years. Commencing July, 1845, it was terminated towards the end of 1847, owing entirely to failing health, and not to any dissensions in the church, as was made apparent by the splendid testimonial as to his character and merits as a minister of the Gospel, which appeared soon after in the "*Diwygiwr*," signed by all the deacons of the church which greatly regretted the loss of his ministrations. Yet it was during his short stay at Tredegar that he became known as one of the foremost champions of civil and religious liberty in the kingdom. The work performed by him for the good of all during those two years was of the most extensive character. His doings as a Patriot, a Reformer, and a Leader of the people, at that time, were known everywhere, and by multitudes were considered sufficient to secure for his name immortal renown.

Soon after he had settled down at Tredegar, he was asked by the Committee of the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge to translate Dr. Whately's work on " Christian Evidences," which work had already been translated to several of the European languages. He acceded to the request and received for his approved performance the sum of ten pounds. From the Archbishop himself he also received several valuable volumes

in recognition of his service as translator of his " Christian Evidences." Soon after, he commenced writing a series of " Welsh Sketches," which appeared to the number of eleven or twelve in the "*Nonconformist*," a popular English newspaper, then edited by the Rev. Edward Miall, as the acknowledged organ of the Society for the Liberation of the Church from State Patronage and Control. The articles dealt with such subjects as the following :— Education and Religion in Wales ; the Church and Church Men ; Nonconformity and the Nonconformists ; the Old Vicar, etc. These sketches were extensively read and highly praised by multitudes throughout England and Wales, for their pungent, racy style, and great literary merits. In August, 1846, the " World's Temperance Convention " was to be held in London, at which delegates from all parts of the world were expected to be present. Among them, the young pastor of Saron, Tredegar, appeared by special appointment to represent the temperance societies of Gwent and Morganwg at that famous convention. While there, he had the pleasure of being indroduced to Dr. Beecher and Elihu Burritt, the learned American blacksmith, and many other temperance celebrities of world-wide fame. He returned home with renewed zeal for the cause which had been so ably advocated at the said Convention. This was made manifest by his going round to relate the history of the Convention at Tredegar, and many of the most important places within the surrounding districts. His meetings took well everywhere, large audiences congregated to hear his addresses, with the result that many were led to leave the folly of their ways. But the publicans and the tipplers became enraged, making him an object of ridicule. Even at Tredegar this was much the case. There were some who would have cursed him to his face

had they dared to do so. His parents, hearing this, wrote to express a hope, that in future he would be more cautious. His reply was, that instead of fretting they should rejoice that they had a son who was counted worthy to suffer shame, yea, to be cursed for the work he had been doing. Besides lecturing about the Convention, as we have said, he wrote a most interesting article in regard to what he had seen and heard at that great gathering, which appeared in the "*Traethodydd*" for January, 1847. Evidently, he stood up for Reformation all round—in the churches as well as in the world outside. In his own church at Tredegar, he wished that all who were not real witnesses for Christ, should be "cut off," so that the Word of God should have free course, and be glorified.

In the beginning of 1847, Mr. Cassel of London, offered a prize of ten pounds for the best essay on "The Moral Obligation of Total Abstinence." Of the numerous essays that were sent in, the one written by our young literary hero of Tredegar, was considered the best. Of this fact, he was apprised, about the time when he lost his beloved partner in life. Much of the essay was written in bed, being unable to appear in the pulpit as usual. To finish such a masterly production thus written within the prescribed time, was a feat to be talked about. The essay made its first appearance in the "*Teetotal Essayist*" for June, 1847. When printed in a separate form, it attained an immense circulation. A Wesleyan gentleman in Manchester was so pleased with it that he resolved to present a copy to all the ministers and missionaries belonging to the Wesleyan body throughout the world. Mr. Cassel also was so convinced of its worth that he forwarded a copy to all the members of the two Houses of Parliament. By such means as these the name of the Rev. Evan Jones of Tredegar, became as well known in

England almost as in Wales. Ever afterwards, Mr. Cassel continued to be one of the essayist's best friends. It should be added, that other articles of great power from the same author appeared subsequently in the "*Teetotal Essayist*" on "The Duties of Sabbath School Teachers in regard to Total Abstinence"; "The Evils of Moderate Drinking," etc., etc. How he managed to write so much, who can tell?

Before leaving Tredegar, he had to do mightier works than any that have been mentioned hitherto. We refer, of course, to his splendid efforts in the way of vindicating the honour of the Welsh nation against the foul aspersions that were cast upon him at that time, publicly, by gentlemen, who had purposes of their own to gratify in doing so. First there appeared the Report of the Church Commission on the Religious and Moral Condition of Wales; to be followed soon after by the ill-starred speech of Mr. W. Williams, M.P. for Coventry, in the House of Commons. In both cases, the description of the state of things in the Principality were altogether erroneous and misleading. As a Patriot, Ieuan Gwynedd's heart was thoroughly stirred, resulting in the timely appearance of his famous work on "The Dissent and Morality of Wales"—a work that came to be regarded as an authority on those subjects. Then, in 1847, there appeared the notorious Blue Books, issued forth by the Commissioners appointed by the Government to make a full inquiry as to the real state of things in the Principality in regard to education, morality and religion. The Commissioners, three in number, hailed from London, and were Churchmen of the first water. Their assistants also, with one exception, were churchmen, and their witnesses also for the most part were of the same category. Consequently, the picture drawn of the state of morality and religion in Wales, as presented

in the Reports of the Messrs. Vaughan, Symons, and Lingen was altogether one-sided and truly shameful to behold. A stranger reading those Reports might have thought that the Welsh nation must have been about the most drunken, unchaste, deceitful, and irreligious nation on the face of the earth. Once more the heart of the young pastor of Saron, Tredegar, was stirred to its utmost depths. How could he feel otherwise? How could he remain silent when he saw that all the moral delinquencies of the Principality were attributed now to the language, the Nonconformity, and the deficient religious instruction of its people? Already his extraordinary exertions had secured for him the highest position among the defenders of the national character of his fellow-subjects in Wales, and now he had to become the Leader in the great and ever to be remembered controversy regarding the perfidy of the Blue Books (*Brad-y-Llyfrau Gleision*). Other writers entered the field, calling attention to the glaring incorrectness of certain statements here and there, but they proceeded no farther. But our Ieuan went on like a hero. He wrote stirring articles to the Welsh magazines, and also many English newspapers, such as the "*Principality*," "*Nonconformist*," "*Universe*," "*Monmouthshire Merlin*," and the "*Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald*." Considering the delicate state of his health, and the time demanded for performing his ministerial duties, and the enormous task of combating all the notorious statements contained in the said Blue Books, it is a wonder he did not lose heart, so as to lay his pen aside, and possibly he would have done so, had it not been for the numerous letters he received from all directions, urging him to go on, until judgment should be brought forth unto victory. And so he went on, nothing daunted by the vastness of the task before him. He managed to collect an immense mass of facts and

figures to shew that, notwithstanding the many evils that existed in the Principality, it was quite a Goshen as compared with the moral and spiritual darkness which prevailed generally throughout England. For a long time, he had the whole field almost to himself. Others deserved well of their fellow-countrymen as assistants, yet, all agreed on every hand as his biographer has well said, "to look up to the young pastor of Saron, Tredegar, as the Wellington of the Dissenting hosts."

About that time, the question of National Education, absorbed much of public attention. Many of the leading men among the Nonconformists everywhere declared in favour of Voluntary Education. They felt strongly against Government interference in the matter. That public money should go to build and aid schools wherein religious instruction was to be imparted, was distasteful to their feelings, as being altogether contrary to their avowed principles. Ienan was exactly of the same opinion, and it ought to be observed, that among the many essays that were then written in favour of the Voluntary system, some of the very best, according to competent judges, were written by Ieuan Gwynedd.

We are now briefly to advert to

THE CLOSING YEARS OF HIS LABORIOUS LIFE.

It was on January, 9, 1848, that he delivered his farewell address to his sorrowing congregation at Tredegar. From beginning to end it was full of tenderness and pathos, and striking thoughts. He had only about three years to live after this, a short period, but full of remarkable incidents, and of glorious works. For a while, after resigning his ministerial charge, he became editor of the "*Principality*" in Cardiff, and of the "*Standard of Freedom*" in London. He arrived in the Metropolis on October 14, 1848, and remained there until August, 1849.

At once he enrolled himself as a member of the Welsh Congregational Church in Aldersgate Street, then under the pastoral care of the celebrated Caledfryn. The diary he kept during his stay in London contains reading matter of great interest, some of the entries are in English, others being in Welsh. As instances, the following deserve to be quoted here :—" London, October 20. The first week of my editorial duties has passed, and another has commenced ; part of my time has been taken up by two long replies to Dr. Campbell, and three or four short reviews of books. The departments which I prepare are the Irish, the provincial, the ecclesiastical, and the better part of the gleanings and miscellaneous." Again .— ' November 1. Called yesterday with the Rev. Henry Richard, Secretary of Peace Society, and will dine with him on Monday. I have found out several of the Welsh people here, and my admiration of everything Welsh is continually increasing." And again :—" November 11. My articles in this week's paper are ' Social Curse,' the ' Two Elections,' ' Good Time Coming,' and a view on ' Trees.' Again :—' November 19. My articles this week are, the ' Family Quarrel,' ' Parochial Relief for a Lord,' and ' Crimes and Criminals,' with a great number of the reviews, chiefly religious." Again :—" Dec. 2. Articles—the ' Ban of Liberty,' ' West Riding,' and ' Clerical Repentance in Wales.' " Soon after this, viz., on the 23rd of the same month, he married his second wife who became to him a blessed helpmeet during the trials he had ere long to undergo. For in London again, there was no " abiding city " for a talented fellow countryman. While his position was agreeable, and his prospects bright, all of a sudden owing to the rupture of a blood vessel, he was brought once more near unto the gates of death. It was a very serious case, his doctors being

afraid he would not recover. In this, however, they were mistaken. He rallied again, returned to Wales, though weak in body, settling down once more in Cardiff. As his strength returned, he became as busy as ever with his pen. The patronage of Lady Hall, of Llanover (Gwenynen Gwent) at this juncture had the effect of greatly encouraging him in his literary efforts. In the beginning of 1850 he started a new monthly entitled the "*Gymraes*,"—a magazine especially intended for the instruction and entertainment of Welsh women, which at once attained a high degree of popularity. As time went on, he pledged himself to become editor also of the "*Diwygiwr*," and the "*Adolygydd!*" And strange to say, it was during the two last years of his life, viz. :—1850 and 1851, when his health once more was seen gradually to give way, intimating that the end was not far distant, yea, it was during this trying period in his history, that he composed his best, longest and most renowned of all his poetical productions. They were on subjects of the highest interest as will be seen by the following enumeration!—The "Resurrection of Christ," the "Wisdom of God," "Peace," the "Resurrection," "Moses's View from the Top of Pisgah." For the first mentioned poem, he obtained the prize offered by the Cymmrodorion of Merthyr at their Christmastide Eisteddfod, 1850—there being in all seventeen competitors, with Eben Fardd as adjudicator. And for the last mentioned poem, which was to contain at least one thousand lines, he obtained the prize offered by the committee of the Liverpool Welsh Eisteddfod which was held in September, 1851, Tegid, Eben Fardd, and Hiraethog being the adjudicators, who praised the poem as a masterly performance. The numbers of competitors were seven. When the name of the victor was announced after the reading of the adjudication, the

thunders of applause were both loud and long. The above mentioned productions for the most part were written by Ieuan in bed, being unable to go about without assistance. In the meantime, his other productions in prose and poetry were almost innumerable. To many it appeared a mystery how he could go through such an amount of labour, in such a space of time, and under such infirmities as have been depicted already. Evidently work was his pleasure; and so he went on persistently, heedless of the dire consequences that might follow. Rather than be at rest, thinking of nothing but self-indulgence, he preferred going on taxing all his energies to the utmost, and die a martyr to excessive mental application. But he worked too hard to live long. At last he was called to his rest. He died on Monday, Feb. 25, 1852, in the thirty-second year of his age. On the following Friday his remains were conveyed to the far-famed burying ground at Groeswen, followed by a vast concourse of devout men, who were there to do honour at the burial of their departed brother, one of Gwalia's noblest sons, who, after serving his generation by the will of God, had fallen to sleep and they "made great lamentation over him." In due time a monument raised by penny subscriptions received from all parts of the Principality, was placed over his tomb, bearing a suitable inscription, together with the following characteristic lines from the pen of one of the greatest Welsh poets,—Gwilym Hiraethog:—

"Y golofn yma gyhoedda haeddiant
Ieuan Gwynedd, iw wladfu'n ogoniant:
Haul oedd iw genedl-miloedd a gwynant
Ai'n nos oi golli-tewi nis gallant
Llanwodd swydd llenydd a sant,—sai i weithiau
Ef ir oloesanu yn ddirfawr lesiant...

Now, having given a sketch of the most important

positions and incidents of our subject's life, it behoves us to take into consideration some of the most striking traits of his character. In relating his history, several of these welled themselves into notice, now and then, as a matter of course ; a little more amplification in regard to several of them, cannot but be thought a thing of necessity.

First of all, let us think of him as a man. When full-grown, he was of striking appearance,—tall and slender, erect in carriage and graceful in his movements. His eyes were of a pleasing colour, and bright with the fire of genius. In his best days, there seemed to be a remarkable correspondence between his physical and mental constitution. Judgment he possessed in an eminent degree. He had masculine vigour of thought, tempered by calm deliberation. He possessed extraordinary powers of understanding, which were much cultivated by reading and reflection. His memory was retentive, and his imagination vigorous. In the various walks of private life, his virtues shone out conspicuously. Through life he was a hard student. He read with great rapidity, and retained with wonderful exactness what he had thus easily collected. And certainly he was not deficient in the power of reducing to order and system the scattered hints on any subject which he had gathered from different books. In theology and ethics, in history and statistics, in poetry and philology his treasures seemed inexhaustible. By his natural temper, he was rather hasty and quick of resentment, but by his habitual practice, he was modest and gentle. In controversy, he could hit hard, and be humourous, sarcastic, severe, or gentle as occasion seemed to require. He dealt severely with Vaughan, Symons, and Lingen, but in a lenient way when reprimanding the Bishops of Llandaff and St. David's, about the same time for some offensive remarks made by them during

their Episcopal Visitations regarding Welsh Nonconformity. Ieuan felt called upon through the pages of the "*Principality*" and "*Universe*" to draw the attention of the public to the misleading statements made by their Lordships; but those letters according to Ieuan's biographer though logical and powerful, were yet couched in such respectful and courteous terms that his Lordship of Llandaff wrote to him privately to express his satisfaction in view of the gentlemanly way in which he had dealt with him and his brother of St. David's. And there the matter dropped.

His conduct in the nearest relations of private life was altogether exemplary. As a son, he manifested on all occasions the most cheerful obedience, and the most reverential affection. As a husband, his life was eminently lovely. When the stroke that "barked his fig-tree and laid his vine waste," fell—when the wife of his bosom and their infant son were taken away, so that his house was left unto him a desolation, his grief was great beyond expression. His brother, Mr. John Evans of Carnarvon was ever an object of the deepest affection to his heart. When in 1850—1851, he lost his wife and a beloved son, within three months of each other, his letters of condolence to him in his sorrow must have been like oil on the troubled waters of the sea. But who can describe the intensity of his affection towards his mother? He felt that he owed her a debt of gratitude which could never be discharged. On her attaining her birthday in March, 1846, when in the seventy-third year of her age, he presented her with a sonnet of exquisite beauty and tenderness. And when apprised of her death on January 29, 1849, he, being at the time in better health than usual, instantly left Cardiff in order to be present at her funeral, so as to have his tears mixed with those of his father and brother. Soon after arriving at Tycroes, he indicted a long letter to

his beloved wife, in which the following strictures appear : —" I am once more in the scene of childhood and youth, but everything, how reversed ! No longer a child !—and now motherless ! All has changed. My poor old mother has slept in peace. After much suffering she passed away. But she died in the full assurance of faith. It is represented as triumphant. One does not remember the first time he sees his mother but everyone will remember the last time ! Pale, silent and mortal ! No smile, no word, no movement of the eye, no life ! How dismal, desolate and painful ! " Let no one think that observations of this kind are trivial. Without the virtues herein referred to Ieuan Gwynedd could never have attained such influence as leader of the people.

As a patriot, his enthusiasm knew no bounds. The strength of his affection for his beloved Wales, was known among Welshman in all parts of the world. On this point so much has been said so that it is unnecessary to say much more. Evidently, he viewed his native country, with its hills, mountains, and valleys, much in the same way as the Israelites of old viewed the " Land of Promise," when in the height of its glory, basking in the sunshine of Divine favour, enriched with all blessings, and flowing with milk and honey. He delighted in it, as the land of " the mountain and the flood." How he delighted in it especially, as the nursery of many giants, a land renowned for rearing great Reformers, great Preachers, great Poets, and great Missionaries. In everything that related to its moral, political and religious welfare, he all along felt the greatest interest. Why ! people thought that at times, he could not but regard the heather of its mountains as being more fragrant and beautiful than the pomegranates and the camphire of other countries. The man, wherever found, who might be considered a stranger to the spirit of

patriotism, he would have so readily consigned to oblivion as the Scottish Bard when he wrote thus :—

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned,
From wandering on a foreign strand?
If such there be, go, mark him well:
For him no minstrel's raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,
Despite these titles, power and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

As a Christian, he aimed to be consistent and faithful in all things. The fervency of his spiritual feeling manifested itself in his ready sympathy with all societies, and with every religious movement that promised spiritual usefulness. No one can doubt the genuine religious earnestness of his life. His piety everywhere shone forth with uniform steadiness. Piety in fact, was the principle, the foundation, and the essence of his life as a Christian man. Consequently, he was "instant in season, and out of season," and "ready to every good word and work." He was never "ashamed of the Gospel of Christ;" and he seems never to lose sight of the fact, that, according to his profession, he was to do all things for the glory of Christ.

As a poet and writer of prose, he was equally famous. He began to cultivate poetry, as we have seen, while yet a boy. In the neighbourhood of his parents' home, there is everything that might be thought favourable to the fostering of poetical sentiments in a youthful mind of a certain temperament. The scenery all around is grand

beyond description. It is one of the most romantic spots in Merionethshire,—the most romantic county in the Principality. But that of itself is not enough to make men poets, who have not the essence of poetry within them. Inspiration does not come with observation. Like the wind "it bloweth where it listeth." See the difference between father and son at Tycroes!—the one taken, the other left. The essence of poetry was in the lad, and there was a needs be for its coming out. His poetic genius, no doubt, received a healthy impulse from the Literary Club or Society that existed at Dolgelley in those days, having been established in the year 1821.

With Llewellyn Idris, as President, Bardd Meirion as Vice-president, Cawrdaf as Bard, and the Rev. Cadwaladr Jones as Arch-druid, it flourished well during many years. Among its members at the time now referred to, there were found such good poets as Meuring Ebrill, Dewi Wnion, Idrisyn, Cadfan, Bardd Mawddach, Gwilym Aran, etc., etc., and it was by one of these, viz., Dewi Wnion, that Ieuan Gwynedd was taught the mysteries of Welsh poetry, according to the rules laid down by Dafydd ap Edmwnt. By dint of perserverance, Ieuan became as much an expert in those mysteries as any poet of the age. Witness his Awdl on peace—"Heddwch"—the Chair-subject at the great Madoc Eisteddfod in 1851. The same, containing 1,220 lines or more, was prepared and sent in for adjudication, like many more at the time specified. Of the compositions sent in, the Rev. W. Rees (Hiraethog) of Liverpool's Awdl was considered the best, and therefore the Gold Medal and Bardic Chair fell to his lot, but Ieuan Gwynedd's Awdl was pronounced second best,—no mean commendation and honour, since Hiraethog's Adwl, has ever since been considered as one of the most magnificent and perfect Awdl in the language.

Our subject's Awdl is good and powerful throughout, and ends with one of the most charming descriptions of the peaceful happy state of things on earth, during the reign of Messiah in the Millenium. But to those who do not care much about long compositions in the Mesurau Caethion, they will turn with pleasure to that noble poem of his on the "View of Moses on Pisgah," and deem it, if men of knowledge and taste, worthy of all the praise that has ever been bestowed thereon. In fact, it is a truly brilliant production throughout, rich with fine descriptions and studded over with images of the greatest beauty, while the diction, all along, is glowing, harmonious, and free.

As a prose writer he was also of the first class. During his short life he wrote on a great variety of subjects, but always in the best way possible. There was a great demand for his services, and such was his affability, that he was ever ready to accede to the requests of his admirers, as far as he possibly could. He never wrote on a subject of which he had only an imperfect knowledge. Whether social, moral, religious, polemic, or theological, it mattered aught to him—he was equal to the occasion of whatever nature it might be. The extent of his knowledge was remarkable. Justly was he one of the best informed men of his time. All his productions were completed in such a way, so that there was nothing to retrench or alter. People felt that it was a pleasure to read his works because of the flowing, lucid, and forcible way in which they were written. Well may it be said of him, as of a great man of another nation—"All his exertions were the effort of easy action. They cost no labours and occasioned no fatigue. His perception was clear and rapid, his discernment acute, his invention rich, his taste correct and delicate, his imagination brilliant, his wit genuine, his judgment solid,

his views comprehensive, and his reasoning faculties powerful and commanding. Never was a mind under better discipline. All his stores were arranged in exact method, and every faculty was ready at the moment."

This sketch perhaps would be considered incomplete, were there no special reference therein to his character as preacher and minister of the Gospel. In these capacities he was a "leader of the people," in the highest possible sense. As has already been shown, he was a faithful preacher and a "good minister of Jesus Chrst." He aimed not at being eloquent or popular, yet his hearers everywhere gave him the credit of his being so. There was such an air of earnestness about him when delivering his message in the pulpit that all who listened to him could not fail of being convinced that he was "the right man in the right place." When about sixteen years of age, I had an opportunity of seeing and hearing him one Sunday afternoon at Bethel (Arvon), when he and a friend of his, were on a preaching tour in these parts. It was early in 1839, a year of great religious revival. Well do I remember his tall, erect form, his pale countenance, and fluent speech; and the rapt attention wherewith the congregation listened to him throughout. As for the sermon, very little of it is now remembered by me, but as for his text, here it is still fresh on my memory—"How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee Israel? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together."

As social reformer, as vindicator of his nation's honour, and as advocate of civil and religious liberty he was richly endowed with all the qualifications which were necessary in order to make his name illustrious for ever. Among them may be named an enlightened understanding, a

deep sense of justice, great facility in writing, and above all decision of character. Ieuan Gwynedd might have possessed the former qualifications in a high degree, but without the latter, his success would have been only partial. We all know that decision is a noble element of character. An invincible determination, must ever be considered as the chief pledge of success in every human enterprise. Well has it been said "that no power on earth is equal to its force. The man of inflexible purpose is daunted by no difficulties. He bids mountains depart from his path, and they flee away—hostile circumstances cease their opposition, and they surrender." In the make of every great man, this is the principal ingredient. It was this which made Luther the hero of the Reformation. It was this which made John Knox stand fearless in the pulpit, "with a carabine levelled at his head, opposed to the face-proud nobles, and prouder Churchmen, and wring civil and religious liberty from the convulsive grasp of kings and princes." It was this which made Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, with all its dependences. It was this which induced our forefathers, when the Principality was enveloped in gross darkness, to deny themselves, and go into the "highways and hedges," to call upon men everywhere to repent, so as to bring about that great moral transformation, the benefits of which we are now reaping, and it was this coupled with his brilliant abilities, and many virtues that made Ieuan Gwynedd a burning and shining light—an honour to his family, an ornament to his denomination, and an idol to his nation. By this also, "he being dead, yet speaketh." He still lives, and shall live for generations yet to come in the memory, gratitude, and respect of his country. The sons of toil everywhere may learn from his history lessons which, if

rightly attended to, may be to them of more value than much fine gold. It was with great propriety, that the worthy author of his memoir, designated it as " A Book for Young People." And so, indeed it is.

When Ieuan was young, with scarcely a friendly hand to beckon him on, and beset with difficulties and disappointments, he still pressed forward. He had faith in himself, in his work and more than all in his God. Unbelief and fear are twins, so are faith and courage. Then follows perseverance. Success waits on exertion. This is the law of the Divine Kingdom. After the seedtime comes the harvest.

Let those of our young friends, who are desirous of reaching the realms of immortality never despond in view of the stones that may bestrew their path. Through storm and sunshine, let them persevere; for, according to a spirited writer, " to persevere, is to defy the frowns of fortune and the world, to subdue circumstances to our will, to conquer demons, to scale precipices, to remove mountains. Oh! that we could imbue the young with this indomitable spirit, that we could cry with trumpet-tongue to the feeble, to the faint-hearted, to the desponding, to the world and woe-oppressed—persevere!"

REV. JOHN ROBERTS. REV. SAMUEL ROBERTS.
REV. RICHARD ROBERTS.

THE THREE BROTHERS.

By the REV. JOHN PHILLIPS, *Cwmavon.*

THE three brothers of Llanbrynmair—S.R., J.R., and G. R. —were in many respects, the most remarkable trio that ever figured in the religious, political and social life of Wales. Seldom it is given to a single family to produce three brothers of such rare talent and character. Yet each one bears his own distinctive characteristics and shines in the light of his own distinguishing features.

In J.R. we have the popular preacher and racy writer. There has not yet appeared a writer of Welsh of equal power and beauty of expression; poetical without being florid; racy without being loose; clear without being superficial. His attitude on all public questions was always an independent one; thus many regarded him as a disturbing element. By means of the "*Cronicl*" he made an indelible impression on the mind and character of his fellow-contrymen.

G.R. was an extraordinarily talented laymen—keen and practical in all his undertakings. He had the capacity to adjust himself to any and every calling. He could preach a sermon, write articles, compose poetry, work at carpentry, and watch over the interests of the farm. In mental capacity he was not equal to his brothers, nevertheless he was one of the noble three—a child of nature, active and practical.

S.R. comes before us as a first-class fighting man. J.R. was mainly concerned about the relation of man to God. The relation of man to man appealed to S.R. Hence we find J.R. discoursing on such subjects as

Election, Redemption, Atonement, etc. S.R. never touched on these matters, but wrote volumes on social and political problems. His versatility is acknowledged on all hands—poet, preacher, politician, editor, reformer, leader, hymnist and literateur. But above all things S.R. has left an indelible mark upon Wales as one of her truest social reformers and moulders of political opinions.

In speaking of him the late Henry Richard, M.P., said: "Few men living have rendered greater service to the Principality of Wales. For many years he was foremost in every good work, labouring incessantly by tongue and pen and purse to promote the material, moral, and spiritual prosperity of the country."

S.R. was the eldest son of the Rev. John Roberts of Llanbrynmair in Montgomeryshire. Llanbrynmair takes an honoured place in the making of Welsh life and thought. It could boast of an Independent Church as early as 1640, and was always regarded as a home and refuge for Nonconformity. But of all the illustrious Welshmen born and bred at Llanbrynmair none stood higher than S.R. He received invitations from Chesterfield, Nottingham, Oswestry, Pwllheli, Newport, Birmingham, West Bromwich, Porthmadoc, Wern, Greenfield and Haverfordwest, but ultimately settled as co-pastor with his father at Llanbrynmair, the pastorate comprising not less than ten churches. But there was nothing narrow or exclusive about S.R. He took a broad interest in life. He advocated Disestablishment before the "Liberation Society" came into existence. He expounded Free Trade before the Anti-Corn Law League was formed. He concerned himself with postal reform as early as 1830. He advocated the claims of atheists to vote and sit in Parliament before Bradlaugh was known. He and Henry Richard

represented Wales at the Peace Conference at Frankfort in 1850.

S. R. was an Eisteddfodwr before "Hiraethog" and "Caledfryn." In 1824 he won a prize for a brilliant essay on "The Grandeur of the Welsh Language." In 1825 he carried away two prizes, one at Carmarthen for an essay on "The History of the Britons before the Roman Invasion," the other at Ruthin on "The Atrocities of Shipwreck Robbers." At Denbigh he was awarded the prize for an essay on "The Relation of Law to Good Morals." He also captured the prize for two essays at the Cymmrodorion Eisteddfod, London, on "All Good from God" and "Bravery." In 1832, in the Royal Eisteddfod of Beaumaris, his essay on "Agriculture" drew from the adjudication the golden tribute—"perhaps the most beautiful composition in any language." In 1830 he published a small volume of poetry by way of protest against the barbarities of slavery. In those days the transmission of a letter from Wales to London cost 1s. 1d., and from Wales to America 2s. 6d. Oftentimes S. R. had to pay the required 2s. 6d. to enable a poor mother to receive a letter from her son across the seas.

He got the Government to appoint a Commission to enquire into our Postal arrangements. In 1836 that Commission issued its Report recommending the penny postage. Sir Rowland Hill saw the matter through to its successful issue, but it is only common justice to state that Sir Rowland Hill entered into the labours of S. R. He pioneered the movement. Burritt and S. R. fought for an Ocean penny postage and petitioned Parliament to adopt it on the two-fold ground of convenience to the public and gain to the treasury. This reform has not yet arrived, but it is approaching.

S. R. stood for free trade, free education, and a free church.

By the death of his father he became the tenant of Diosg Farm. This brought him into living contact with the hardships and sufferings of the toiling tenant, and into direct conflict with landlords and stewards. With unflinching courage he championed the cause of the tenants. Thus he described the farmer's lot.

"Thousands of them have given of the strength of their days to their masters for nothing but their food. They are poorer to-day after all their labour and care than they were thirty years ago. The landlords treat them as slaves. The serfs of Russia, however oppressed, have earned more the last forty years than the majority of tenant farmers of the highlands of Wales. The landlords of Wales are no better than the Barons of Russia. Soon the land will be deserted. No one will remain to cultivate it but parsons, beggars, stewards, turncoats, gamekeepers and bailiffs." From this moment he was a marked man. The forces of Landlordism were arrayed against him. The members of his flock were victimised. The spectre of the squire met him everywhere. What will he do? The people whose battles he fought lived in a state of fear and trembling. Hardened in bondage, they had become apathetic, and therefore lacked courage. Impelled by an inward craving for freedom and justice the Pilgrim Fathers left their native shores and founded the great Democracy of the West, and the inborn passion for liberty drove S. R. across the seas to Tennessee. In 1857 S. R. and a large number from Llanbrynmair emigrated to America and established a Welsh Colony in Tennessee. What bearing has S. R.'s protest on the land question of to-day? Do we not hear its echoes in and out of Parliament? The

emancipation of the Welsh peasant and a new system of land tenure, these are burning problems. The sustenance of the labouring many was often sacrificed to the sport of the idle few, and almost as large a share of the produce of the soil goes into paying for the permission to cultivate it, as is allotted towards maintaining the labourers who tilled it through the sweat of their brow. Our vicious system of land ownership accounts for the exodus from the country which was the nation's best nursery for the creation of slums and overcrowding with their fell brood of evils; all this and much worse came from the greed and selfishness which a stifled system of tenure permits to control unrestrictedly the vital resources of our soil.

Needless to state that S.R. was an ardent nationalist in all aspects of Nationalism. He wrote a learned and laborious essay on Welsh—its beauty, force and antiquity, and in which he illustrates the value and charm of Welsh by comparing it with Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English, and points out the grammatical constructions that are common to Welsh and the three glorious tongues of antiquity.

For the perpetuation of Welsh S.R. suggests the following considerations:—

1. Agreement as to its Orthography.
2. Exhaustive Welsh Dictionary.
3. Welsh books on Elocution.
4. Comprehensive Welsh book on Technical Education.
5. Welsh should be taught at our Universities.
6. Encourage the gifted young Welsh scholars. Virgil received seven guineas for each line of his Æneid VI.
7. Support and popularise Welsh periodicals.
8. Writers and speakers to guard its purity.
9. The Press should encourage style by refusing to publish cheap matter.

10. Welsh should be used in correspondence, on signs, coat-of-arms, tombstones and monuments.
11. Welsh to be spoken in our Law Courts.
12. The nobility should speak it.
13. Mothers should teach it to their children.
14. To preserve the memory of noble patriots in poetry and song.

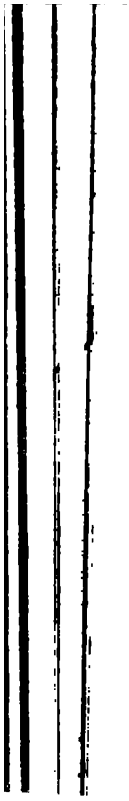
In 1841 S.R. published a Hymnal containing over two thousand hymns. Hymnals then were almost unknown. S.R. introduced a useful and intelligently-arranged book, which was a vast improvement on the previous one. In 1843, his monthly periodical called the "*Cronicl*" made its first appearance. This marked the opening of a new period in the literary life of Wales. Welsh newspapers were considered among the luxuries of the land, and the monthlies were few and costly. People looked upon a regular reader of newspapers as an oracle, and he who read a monthly periodical seemed as a prophet in their sight. His judgment and information were accepted as infallible by the masses. The "*Cronicl*" made a distinct and an immediate appeal, and rapidly won its way into the homes and hearts of the people. It became a vehicle of light and reform, and almost an infallible guide in the sight of thousands. It flourished into the brightest and most popular monthly of the day. It wielded an almost incredible influence on the political, social, and religious life of Wales. Its principles permeated the land. Thus S.R. came into close touch with the needs and aspirations of Wales. Undoubtedly the "*Cronicl*" was the first formative factor in the life of Wales in that period. In 1878 he started the "*Celt*," a Welsh weekly, which enjoyed varying fortunes, and which recently has been incorporated with the "*Tyst*."

In 1834 S.R. was appointed leader of a campaign to

remove the debts of Congregational churches. When Wales desired to express its sympathy with the oppressed Hungarians in 1850 S.R. interpreted the heart-throbs of Wales to persecuted Hungary. He was the mouthpiece of Wales at the Peace Conference of Frankfort in 1850. When he emigrated to America in 1857 he received a greater number of presents and testimonials than any Welshman who had left his native shore. When he returned in 1867 he was welcomed as a hero, and Wales expressed her joy and appreciation by making him a testimonial of £1,300 which was contributed by over 14,000 people. He loved Wales with the passion of a lover. His name is written on the nation's heart. His sympathy, enthusiasm and self-sacrifice have placed him on the immortal scroll of the nation's worthies.

On September 24, 1885, S.R. was summoned to his rest. The "*Times*" paid him a noble tribute as a social and religious reformer. He was eyes to the blind, feet was he to the lame, father to the needy.

"Modest yet firm as nature's self: unblamed
Save by the men his noble temper shamed:
Never seduced, through show of present good
By other than unsetting lights to steer."



REV. D. REES (Llanelly).

THE REV. DAVID REES, LLANELLI.
1801—1869.

Educated at the Independent College, Drefnewydd, 1824-29; *Independent Minister, Llanelli,* 1829-69; *Secretary of South Wales Education Committee,* 1845; *Founder and Editor of "Y Diwygiwr,"* 1835—1865.

By the REV. J. MORGAN JONES, M.A., ABERDARE.

I.

LIFE AND PERSONALITY.

IT is not the purpose of this short sketch either to write a biography or to make an analysis of the character and personality of the Rev. David Rees, Llanelli. In this volume he must stand as the representative of a class, which has had a share, more or less large, in moulding the national life of Wales especially in politics and education during the 19th century. His merely personal fortunes or misfortunes, therefore, do not concern us very largely and we shall need only the barest outlines of the story of his life.

David Rees was born on November 14, 1801, in Gellilwyd, Trelech, in the county of Carmarthen. One is tempted, of course, to remind the reader of the many contributions made by the district and by the county to the national history, but I refrain from the pleasant task.

He was educated in schools more or less good at Haverfordwest, Carmarthen, and finally at Newtown, which was then the temporary home of what afterwards became the Memorial College, Brecon.

David Rees was of Independent persuasion by tradition, birth and breeding, and he was possessed of all the

virtues and faults of Independency. From his early days he gravitated naturally and easily into the ministry, and in May, 1829, he returned to his native county from Newtown as minister of Capel Als, Llanelli. He remained there to the end of his life, and it was the centre of his activities for forty years, full of hard, unwearied toil —religious, political, educational, social and literary. Everybody who has lived in touch with the people of Carmarthenshire any time within the last fifty or sixty years will know something of the tremendous power he wielded during those forty years in all these directions.

Capel Als was at that time the only Independent Church in the town and the immediate district. Before David Rees died, the whole place was covered with Independent churches, and directly or indirectly their origin may be traced back to his missionary energy. He was careful to bring strong men into the district as the first ministers of these churches—men like Dr. Thomas Rees (afterwards of Swansea), the historian of Welsh Nonconformity, and the Rev. Thomas Jones, the poet-preacher and the father of Principal Viriamu Jones. His denomination in South Wales thus owes him a debt which cannot be estimated. He gave it of his best, for he believed with his whole heart that it had a mission to perform in the national life of Wales. He established the "*Diwygiwr*" as a sixpenny monthly in August, 1835, and was its editor, as well as publisher and proprietor, for thirty years. In 1847 he founded also, and edited for many years "*Tywysydd Y Plant*" as the juvenile companion of the "*Diwygiwr*." In 1852, the "*Gymraes*" was combined with it, and David Rees and Ieuan Gwynedd became joint editors of the new periodical "*Y Tywysydd a'r Gymraes*."

It was David Rees who killed the Church rate in

Llanelli in 1837, and he was also the main factor in establishing the Mechanics' Institute (now the Athenæum) in 1847. In 1848 and 1849 he was strenuously promoting the work of building day schools for the district, and was the secretary of the committees of two of them for many years. He had by this time become the official representative of the Education Movement in West Wales, having been appointed one of the secretaries of the South Wales Education Committee by the Llandovery Conference in April, 1845.

When at last, owing to ill-health, he gave up the editorship of the "*Diwygiwr*" in 1865 he was presented with an address and a cheque for £700 by his many friends in Wales. With this sum he founded the "David Rees Scholarship." It is still being given and has helped many a young Welshman up the educational ladder.

After 1865 his health continued to fail him, and he died on March 31, 1869—being 68 years of age.

Taking him all in all, he was a strong and sturdy son of the soil of Wales—with energy as his main characteristic—a man of action rather than of thought. He was rather short, and rather stout of person, solid, compact and well-balanced, a man of open genial face, healthy and clean in dress, body and mind. Quick and abrupt, he is said to be, in manner, speech and thought—strong and determined, sincere, if sometimes passionate—quick to repent, if also quick in anger. He was a man of clear ideas, with a few strong principles, which he was brave enough to put into practice—sometimes with rigour as well as vigour. He lived a strenuous life, was a born administrator, full of public spirit, with a touch of autocracy, a master of assemblies—altogether a strong-willed personality, fuller of truth than of grace, with a keener sense of righteousness than of gentleness, one of

those mediators who did the spade-work of progress in Wales most thoroughly. He lived for the people, with the people, and into the people. He guided them, as it were from within, and at the same time ruled them sometimes with the iron hand, and that not always in the velvet glove. He lived through the most interesting years of the modern growth of Wales—through the dark to the dawn—and in all the public and national movements of the time, he took a hard-working as well as a prominent part.

He lived through the great social upheaval—the symptoms of which were the Chartist movements, and the Rebecca Riots; and the outcome of which was the political agitation against the Corn Laws.

He was at the birth of the politico-religious struggle against the State Church and fought victoriously against the Church rate.

More than all, he was in the very thick of the educational fight of the time, and he played his part in that very mixed struggle in South Wales which gathered round religious education, the Government grant, and the Blue Books of 1847.

In this volume of the record of "Welsh Political and Educational Leaders" he stands in the main as the representative in South Wales of three great elements which have contributed very largely to the growth and progress of Modern Wales:—

(1) As one of the Secretaries of the "South Wales Education Committee" established in 1845, he represents a very interesting and a very important phase of the early history of Education in Wales—the voluntary movement.

(2) As founder and editor of the "*Diwygiwr*" and other magazines, he represents the rise and influence of the

monthly periodical in the moulding of the national life.

(3) As one of the first generation of the avowed "political Dissenters," and the most notable of them in South Wales, he represents most of all, the men who have done the greater part of the spade-work of Welsh politics and of Welsh nationality in general.

My attempt will be to give David Rees his place in the national life and history as the representative of each of these movements in turn.

II.

DAVID REES AND THE EDUCATION MOVEMENT.

The history of Welsh Education during the 19th century has not yet been written as a whole, and the relation of Nonconformity to Education in South Wales between 1840 and 1870 stands in special need of the sympathetic historian.

When the Education Act of 1870 came into operation there were in Wales, roughly speaking, almost 300 British Schools, over 500 Church Schools, and just over 100 other schools. For the most part these had come into existence under the influence of three different organisations. They were (*a*) The Welsh Education Committee (an auxiliary of the National School Society) established in 1846; (*b*) The Cambrian Education Society (in connection with the British and Foreign School Society) also established in 1846; (*c*) The South Wales Education Committee, established in April, 1845, by the Nonconformists.

The work of the first two in connection with Welsh Education is well-known and well-appreciated, but the work of the third has been for the most part left in an unmerited obscurity. David Rees was one of the secretaries of the third, and it is our business to put that

organisation in its proper place alongside the other two agencies in the growth of Welsh Education. It has been too much the custom among men, who think, as they say, of education first and foremost, and who have, quite justly as it seems to me, sung the praises of Sir Hugh Owen without stint, to pass by, with a sniff of contempt, the efforts made by the Nonconformists of South Wales between 1843 and 1853 to promote Elementary Education. Such an attitude is due either to ignorance or a gross misreading of the conditions of the time, and neglect of the wider national issues at stake. That movement was a far greater help to the growth of Welsh Education than has yet been realised. Of course it would be impossible for any one to exaggerate the debt which Wales owes to Sir Hugh Owen for instance, and that debt is probably freely acknowledged in the pages of this volume. Nevertheless, in simple fairness to the other humbler workers in this field, it is only right to remember that Sir Hugh Owen's most brilliant work was done in connection with Higher rather than Elementary Education, and that, so far as the latter is concerned, his energies were practically confined to North Wales. On the other hand, I venture to say that no better work was done in any part of the kingdom between the years 1843 and 1853 than was done single-handed, so to speak, by the South Wales Education Committee, with neither State nor wealth to support it. Moreover, the movement by its own very nature, gave such an impetus to popular interest in education, and such an enthusiasm for educational facilities in close touch with the people, that every step we have taken since then up the educational ladder has been taken more or less, under its influence. This Nonconformist movement, with which David Rees was officially connected, owed its origin and impulse to the

inevitable logic of facts rather than to the theoretical logic of Nonconformist principle, though that also was claimed for it at the time.

The event that made such a movement necessary was the Factory and Education Bill, which was introduced by Sir James Graham with the consent of both political parties in 1843. That Bill produced what was practically a revolution in the Nonconformist attitude towards education. One part of it quite openly put the schools and their education absolutely into the hands of the clergy of the Established Church. The calm insolence of the proposal cast a lurid light upon the educational system that was likely to emanate from the Government of this country, Whig or Tory, in that generation. The whole policy which had been adopted by Parliament since 1833 of administrating education through the two great rival Societies, was given an even more sinister meaning than before. The Nonconformists already knew that every grant the Government made, meant in practice £4 to Church schools for every £1 to unsectarian schools, and created every year an enormous vested interest, which has ever since been the curse of all educational reform. Now, in the light of this Bill, *that* seemed to be no longer an accident, but the deliberate policy of the State. The Nonconformists of every denomination, for the first time in their history, rose as one man in revolt, and the Bill was withdrawn. Nonconformity found out that it was far stronger than it had ever dreamt. The incident created on one side the impulse which found vent in the long continued campaign against the union of Church and State, and on the other hand aroused the Nonconformists to a feverish educational activity. If they had all at that time stood firm in their protest against accepting State aid for schools under voluntary control, we should probably have had

the Act of 1870 much sooner than we did. The British and Foreign School Society, however, bound as it was by its practice since 1833, entered with redoubled vigour upon the unequal contest with the National Society—under the ægis of a Government that was daily betraying its principles—a Government that was hand in glove with the enemy. The result of this policy, so far as it concerns Wales, under the leadership of Sir Hugh Owen and others, is told in another part of this volume, as is also very probably the resulting activity on the part of the National Society.

The policy, however, which concerns us most closely here is neither that of the National Society nor of the British and Foreign School Society, but that of the sterner measures taken by many Nonconformists, the policy with which the Rev. David Rees became identified. The vision which the Nonconformists had seen through Sir James Graham's Bill of Whig and Tory bound hand and foot to the State Church made them see plots and conspiracy in every move. Their trust in the justice of Parliament was shattered, and justifiably so, however mistaken was the policy which they based upon that view. They became convinced that by accepting their very small share of the Government grant, they were only playing the game of the Established Church—and in truth it was so, as the country has since found to its cost. A system half State and half Voluntary was only creating vast vested interests in the schools which it is taking generations to shake off.

The Congregational Board of Education and the Wesleyan Committee assumed a militant attitude of *non possumus* towards the Government, and that movement reached South Wales through Mr. Henry Richard, afterwards "the Apostle of Peace," then a Congregational

minister in London. In 1844 he had been sent down by the Congregational Union to report upon the educational situation in South Wales,—and upon his suggestion a Nonconformist Conference was called at Llandovery in April, 1845. It was the forerunner of many others of a similar character in the history of Welsh Education. The conference was held on April 10 and 11, and was attended by 117 representative laymen and ministers of all Nonconformist denominations in South Wales, Mr. Henry Richard himself representing the Congregational Union. There was considerable variety of opinion, but it was decided to proceed forthwith with the work of establishing a Normal school for teachers at Brecon, and to organise a campaign for the building of schools in every district throughout South Wales. The question of the Government grant was kept in the background, but evidently there was a kind of understanding that it was not to be accepted. A strong committee was appointed to carry out these purposes—with the Revs. David Rees, Llanelli, D. Rhys Stephen, Newport, and J. Pratten, Brecon, as secretaries.

The Normal School soon became an accomplished fact. It was opened on January 1, 1846, with Dr. Evan Davies at its head and almost immediately after there was also a Model Practising School in connection with it. The institution was removed to Swansea at the beginning of 1849, and in spite of very many difficulties of all kinds, it struggled manfully on—to be transformed, at last, into the Swansea Training College for Women Teachers. It is interesting to notice that Dr. Evan Davies was followed as head of the institution by Mr. Dan Isaac Davies, of "bilingual" fame. During the early years of its history, at any rate, this Normal School filled a gap in Wales which, for some reason or other, the British and Foreign

School Society refused to fill. It did good, if humble, work in the history of our elementary schools. So much for one side of the Nonconformist Committee's work The other side of its work was also of great value, especially in, West Wales. Different localities were inspired to take up the task of establishing schools. District and County Committees were organised for the purpose of collecting funds, and, so far as the Counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen are concerned at any rate, these committees did strenuous work for years. It is very difficult to follow up the record of this South Wales Education Committee in detail and the work, therefore, of David Rees as its secretary in West Wales. That record is scattered up and down the newspapers and periodicals of the time. The first results of the impulse thus given may however be read in the Report of the Commissioners of 1847. At the beginning of the year 1847, there were twenty-nine British Schools in South Wales. There were also ninety-three schools which the Commissioners call "Dissenting" schools but which were really more or less of the same type. So were also a large number of the five hundred and eighty-three private schools mentioned in the reports. Between three hundred and four hundred of these schools were opened between the years 1844 and 1847 and the impulse that started the majority of them came from the Education Conference at Llandovery.

It is generally taken for granted that the establishment of all the British Schools in Wales was due to the activities of the British and Foreign School Society. That is very far from being the case. Much as we owe to that excellent society, it is time for us, in South Wales at any rate, to give the credit where it is due, and I venture to say that the Rev. David Rees, and the Rev. D. Rhys Stephen, representing the Nonconformist Committee of

1845, are responsible for the existence of the majority of them. This voluntary movement, it is true, collapsed about 1853, for various reasons—and it was then a good thing for Wales that the British and Foreign School Society stepped into the breach. All the same, it was an experiment worth trying, though naturally foredoomed to failure. It did fail, but so also did the half voluntary attempt of the two great school societies to supply Wales and England with schools. It was mistaken, too, but not half so mistaken as the policy that meant giving and accepting State aid through voluntary societies and thus creating a vested interest in the schools of the nation, which has been a thorn in the flesh of the State ever since 1833. Two things, at any rate, this voluntary movement did for Welsh Education :—

(1) It created the modern passion for schools in touch with the people among the people themselves, as no other agency could have done.

(2) It saved Wales from being swamped by a host of small denominational schools and from the consequent creation of numerous vested interests the existence of which would have made it more difficult than it was to put the Act of 1870 into operation.

More than that, I am not sure that it did not weaken the vested interest of the National Society in the schools of South Wales, much more than the policy of the British and Foreign School Society did in North Wales. At any rate, of the five hundred and thirty-four or so Church Schools in Wales in 1870, almost half were in North Wales, a number out of all proportion to the population as compared with South Wales.

For many other reasons as well, it is still worth while trying to save this movement of 1845 to 1853 from the obscurity into which it has fallen, and to do that, in more

or less close connection with the name of its most energetic secretary—David Rees, Llanelli.

It was genuine, it was healthy, no more mistaken, and if all were told, no more a failure from the point of view of national education than all the other educational movements of the time.

It was partly a political movement, if you like.

A rank political and social injustice was the cause and the occasion for it. Unfortunately the people of this country have been forced to face the fact that education cannot be divorced from politics—so long as we have the spectacle of a State Church clinging, at the cost of its dignity, to the privileges, to which it has long ago lost the moral right. That is what justifies the militant vigour of the "political Dissenter," and even to-day mixes up politics and education on every side in inextricable confusion.

May the day soon dawn when we can hold before us the pure ideals of education, and are not, as in 1843, in 1902, and 1906, inevitably forced to choose between two or three courses—all mistaken, all bad, and all foredoomed to failure! Meantime, the work of the "political Dissenter" must still be done, and we must still go back to the life of men, like David Rees, Llanelli, in order to know what that work has meant to the national life of Wales.

III.

DAVID REES AND THE "DIWYGIWR."

The first and most important form which the militant Nonconformity of the first half of the 19th century took was literary, and the importance of the Periodical in the growth of Nonconformity as a distinctive and separate force in the national life cannot well be exaggerated. It was "*Seren Gomer*," the "*Diwygiwr*" and the "*Haul*" (by reaction), that made Nonconformity

in South Wales keenly conscious of itself as the most powerful element, not only in the religious but also in the social and political life of the nation. They went regularly to the homes of the people, and they provided the first opportunity to gain political knowledge in any but the fragmentary form of gossip. In view of this, it is curious to notice that the "*Diwygiwr*" and the "*Haul*," both established in 1835, deliberately as rivals, continued for thirty years under the same editorship as the great protagonists in the struggle between Dissent and the State Church, and have survived all their contemporaries in South Wales.

The "*Diwygiwr*" has been in existence already for over seventy years, and during all those years it has appeared month by month in the same form and from the same office in Llanelli. That is probably a record that is unique in the whole history of the periodical literature of Wales, and no greater tribute could be paid to the original impulse given to it by the founder, David Rees, and to the energy with which he conducted it during the first thirty years of its life. It has, of course, changed its editors many times since the death of the founder in 1869, and it is at the present moment conducted by the Rev. Gwylfa Roberts, of Llanelli. At the beginning of the present year, it changed hands for the first time as a property, but even yet it has not changed its form.

The story of its foundation is, therefore, worth the telling for the sake of its record. The Independents of South Wales were during the years 1830-35 making use of the "*Efangylydd*," under the editorship of the Rev. David Owen (Brutus), then an Independent minister, as their official organ. Its luke-warm Nonconformity, and its political vagaries however, became more and more repugnant to their newly-awakened social consciousness,

and they determined to encourage the Rev. David Rees—who was even then well-known as a contributor to the "*Efangylydd*" and the North Wales "*Dysgedydd*," and as a stalwart Nonconformist champion of sturdy and advanced views—to start a new monthly more in accord with their principles, desires, and aims. The "*Efangylydd*," which seems to have been the property of certain Independent ministers, was thereupon discontinued, and David Rees launched forth the "*Diwygiwr*" in August, 1835, as a sixpenny periodical, printed and published at Llanelli. "Brutus" then finally deserted Nonconformity and had already made arrangements with his old publisher to edit for him a new Church monthly, to be called "*Yr Haul*." The first number of this also appeared in August, 1835, and it became, in the hands of "Brutus," the cleverest as well as the most unscrupulous of all the Welsh periodicals. In many ways this was a very poor bargain for the Nonconformists. The "*Haul*" became a very heavy asset in the accounts of the Established Church for many years. On the other hand, to feel the stinging lash of "Brutus" was a very healthy experience for Nonconformity as a whole, in spite of the injustice suffered by many individuals at the hands of this cynical genius—the Mephistopheles of the periodical Press of Wales.

The two monthlies were rivals from the start—on religious, moral, political and personal grounds. For the thirty years following 1835 "Brutus" carried on a bitter, unceasing guerilla warfare against his old friends, and more particularly against the "*Diwygiwr*" and its editor.

It is only fair, however, to the latter to add that the "*Diwygiwr*" never stooped to the unscrupulous tactics of the "*Haul*," so far as personal attacks went. As David

Rees writes in his "Farewell Address" to his readers in 1865:—

> "It is against principles that we fight. We considered personal attacks upon 'Brutus' or anyone else as a waste of powder and shot. Neither this old comrade or anyone else had the privilege of being the target of our arrows, more than two or three times during thirty years. . . 'Brutus' has written bulky volumes upon us. The "*Haul*" Sun never rose one month for twenty years without almost the half of it being devoted to the Rev. David Rees, Llanelli; but since we suffered no hurt in body, mind, soul or circumstances, we now proclaim forgiveness without atonement."

It would serve no useful purpose to resurrect any of the multitudinous skirmishes in this paper war, although the rivalry between the two periodicals had no small place in the life of South Wales during those years. Suffice it to say here that there was no opportunity too trifling, and no event too small for "Brutus" to use, in order to pour forth columns of vulgar abuse and vile insinuations upon the head of the editor of the "*Diwygiwr*." His effusions were, of course, supremely clever, and the literary merit of some of them has gained for him a permanent niche in the Temple of Welsh Literature, but they were far more the product of bitter spleen than they were clever. They did not succeed, however, in driving either the "*Diwygiwr*" or its editor from the field, and both "Brutus" and David Rees remained at their posts till both retired from the fray at the end of 1865, while both their magazines are still alive and prosperous.

In the meantime David Rees was using his organ to much better purpose than that of replying to attacks upon his manner and his person. He was carrying on

the fight unflinchingly against the State Church and the Church rate—as well as for the principles of all radical measures. Month by month his cry was "Cynhyrfer! cynhyrfer! cynhyrfer!" (Agitate! agitate! agitate!) He was keeping the "*Diwygiwr*" closely in touch with the living issues of the political life of the time, and he was not afraid to use the powerful influence of the periodical for such a purpose.

As early as 1841 he writes:

> "Free Trade, a Free Church, and a Free Vote, that is the instalment now demanded by the people. Without these, they will not, and they ought not, to be quiet and at rest."

Without doubt he was avowedly and deliberately a "political Dissenter"—one who was not ashamed of the name and the place of that much-maligned species in the national life deserves at our hands a more definite consideration in connection with his name—its most typical representative in this volume.

IV.

DAVID REES, "THE POLITICAL DISSENTER."

The moulders of the life of Wales are of two distinct types. They have practically all sprung from the people, but it has not been possible for all of them to remain in very close touch with the ordinary life and thoughts of the people. Their duties and circumstances have lifted them inevitably out of intimate relationship. They have become cousins and not brothers of the ordinary humanity of the nation. That has not been the fault of this type of leader nor has it been a misfortune for Wales, for they could not otherwise have done the work they had to do. These leaders have lived for the people, but they have not lived *with* the people. They have inspired progress, they have organised its steps with far-seeing eyes, but they

have not dealt face to face with the cottager and the labourer, with the artizan and the miner. They are the statesmen and the prophets—the divinities that shape our ends, not the rough-hewers of the life. They are men like Sir Hugh Owen, Lord Aberdare and Principal Viriamu Jones in Education—men of vision and of counsel. They have their reward in a nation's reverence, and they more than deserve the praise we give them and the honour we pay them.

What many are apt to forget however is that there is another class—a totally different type of leader in Wales, and that their work—rough-hewing though it be—is also essential for the nation's progress and welfare. These are the middlemen, the mediators of progress,—men who bought, without money and without price, their ideas and inspiration from the statesmen and the prophets, and have as freely given what they have freely received. They were, and are, most of them perhaps, not the kind of men to deal with matters of high policy—but it is they who have done the spade-work of progress for they have not only lived *for* the people but also *with* the people, and *as* the people. They are the men to whom, in the main, the phrase "political Dissenters" has been applied as a term of reproach, and it would probably be found that the greatest contribution yet made by Nonconformity to the fullness of the national life is the lavish provision of these "rough-hewers" during the last century. National institutions, and especially educational institutions, are constantly in danger of taking up an attitude of splendid and dignified aloofness—an academic calm amidst the passionate life of the people. In Wales, at any rate, such an attitude cannot but be fatal both for the institutions and the national life. They are, therefore, continually calling for mediators between them and the throbbing lay

life of the labouring men and women of Wales—to prevent the academic calm from developing speedily into a vulgar callousness to national sentiment and national needs.

This is the work that has been done, and is being done in the main by the "political Dissenters." They have not always been wise—their eyes have not always been far-seeing. They have sometimes been passionate in their special pleading, perhaps often narrow in their views. They have lacked in academic culture, and they have never been able to stand on that proud pedestal of ice which is called a dignified impartiality and disinterestedness. This, and much else not half so true as it is futile, might be said of the uncrowned tribunes of the people of Wales during the last century. What is truer and more important, and what is too often forgotten in the official records of national assemblies and university courts is that these mediators of progress had their fingers all the time on the pulse of the people, understood and sympathised with their every heart-beat, caught every impulse on the wing and made it into a carrier of good tidings, instead of a bird of prey. They stormed and pled in turn from pulpits, they called at cottage doors, they urged from public platforms, they agitated in season and out of season—till they had aroused the sleeping conscience and intelligence, and warmed the cold hearts of the people to give the human popular force that is always necessary in Wales before any great movement can be a success.

Now, of all the enterprising spirits in the history of the rise and progress of the "political Dissenter" in South Wales at least—one of the most notable figures is that of David Rees, Llanelli. Perhaps, indeed, he is the most typical representative of the class. He belonged to the very first generation of these militant people.

For thirty years he used the "*Diwygiwr*" and he used

himself as the organ, not only of the most liberal section of the most liberal denomination in the country, but also to plead the cause of a red-hot Radicalism—the older Nonconformists in the meantime looking on aghast and frightened. He was one of the pioneers of the movement. It was he who first led out successfully the host of Nonconformity, even against their will, into the political fight, which after all is only the inevitable consequence of their religious position as Dissenters.

> "It is scarcely more than twenty years," says Henry Richard in 1866, "since the Welsh began to have anything like a political literature. Much, indeed, had been done before that through the medium of the monthly periodicals, to awaken something like a public spirit in the nation. There were two men especially who deserve most honourable mention in connection with this department of service, namely, the Rev. Joseph Harris, of Swansea, and the Rev. David Rees, of Llanelli. As editors of the two principal monthly serials, which they conducted with eminent ability and earnestness, they did much to stimulate popular intelligence on other than mere religious questions, and to prepare men for taking up the active duties of citizenship."

Of the two, though *Gomer* was the earlier in the field, David Rees did the greater work. He was much more decided in his views, and the "*Diwygiwr*" stood up quite frankly and definitely as the champion of political Dissent, and his work was that of the agitator and the popular leader from start to finish.

When he started the "*Diwygiwr*" in 1835, he used it deliberately for that purpose. Nonconformity was then lying in the political stupor, which was perhaps the natural result of the religious revival, and thought that

nothing mattered in the life of the nation but the destiny of immortal souls in the other world. It was a fixed article in the creed of most Nonconformists to stigmatise the ordinary work and duties of political citizenship as the snares of the world and the devil.

It is thus that David Rees describes the situation :—

"The Nonconformists were up to this time very ignorant of their rights, and very indifferent with regard to them. They did not seem to have any knowledge either of their civil rights or their duties. The Churchmen treated them as religious fanatics, who deserved only a large measure of contempt. They themselves, for the most part, had a dread of interfering in political matters, and were nervously afraid of being considered and called 'political Dissenters.' . . They preached with such authority and power as to draw the crowds after them, they discussed theological problems with keen interest, and they quarrelled with much energy over their own little denominational matters. But they felt in duty bound to pay the Church rates, and they paid without protest the enormous bills for the dinners, wines and spirits of the parson, the churchwardens, and the select company who were brought to the vestries. They never dreamt but that the parson had a license from heaven to marry everybody, and believed that no other marriage could stand good. They were very certain that to pay tithes was quite scriptural, and that it would be a sin to oppose what they looked upon as the ordinance of God. . . . . In the spirit of the Toleration Act they even felt rather glad to be allowed to live under the patronage of the parson and the Church squire."

It was out of this state of political coma, that David Rees was one of the main means of rousing the

Nonconformists of South Wales. He set himself deliberately to destroy what he considered to be their sinful complacency, by social and political activities. These activities extended with every year—in spite of some temporary reactions against political Dissent caused by such unfortunate occurrences as the Chartist and Rebecca Riots of 1839 and 1843.

The political movements which brought about this awakening of Welsh Nonconformity were to a large extent only echoes from across the border.

Thus we find David Rees pleading the cause of the slaves in British Colonies. He writes that the Nonconformists are shamefully indifferent with regard to them—and when on August 1, 1838, they were bought free for twenty million pounds, he welcomes the deed with the roar of a triumphant agitator. He hails the Chartists of 1838 as the saviours of society, and believes in their programme. At the same time he tells the people of Wales: "Whoever encourages you to use any weapon but reason, count him as your enemy."

Later on, it is the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws that fills the political pages of the "*Diwygiwr*," and David Rees exerts himself to the utmost in urging the people of Wales to take an interest in the Anti-Corn Law League.

Most of all, he joins in the rising cry for the disestablishment of the Church (though the term seems to have been then unknown) and he is one of the first in South Wales to start the agitation which has not yet reached its end.

These were some of the symptoms of the serious dissatisfaction and growing impatience of the "Hungry Forties," and though the "*Diwygiwr*" played its part energetically as the interpreter of the great political and

social needs of the land, yet in these general movements, of course, David Rees was but a very minor figure.

There were other movements, however—more specifically Welsh—such as the struggle against the Church rate in South Wales, and the Rebecca movement in West Wales, in which he played a prominent part.

In the earliest years of the "*Diwygiwr*," when the Church rate was a bone of contention, he entered upon a merciless campaign against its injustice, and was one of the main leaders in the triumphant war that was waged upon it in almost every parish in South Wales—though it was not legally abolished till 1868. We find the "*Diwygiwr*" consulting the highest legal authorities on the matter, explaining the state of the law, while reporting and encouraging all local efforts to use the law in order to destroy the rate. With regard to the parish of Llanelli itself, we find him writing as early as 1837 :—

> "No Church rate has been levied here this year, and unless some great revolution takes place in public opinion, we are quite sure that the rate has been destroyed for ever."

The most exciting incident, however, in this political life of David Rees was concerned with the Rebecca Riots of 1843. The incident was really born in the fertile ingenious mind of "Brutus," and it is not of any importance, except in so far as it shows how difficult and what a dangerous task it was to be a "political Dissenter" in those days.

The Rebecca movement was, of course, the specifically Welsh form taken by the general social unrest, so characteristic of the time. For some years before 1843 the "*Diwygiwr*" had month by month been pouring forth article after article on the serious social condition of the

country, and, without mincing matters, had been crying "Agitate! agitate!" to the people of South Wales.

The farmers were encouraged to say to every Tory as they went to the polling booth, "I am Becca, and I am going to destroy all the toll-gates."

Such expressions are, of course, quite clearly a justification of the Rebecca movement in general, but quite as clearly as that to any unbiassed mind, they are an appeal for the use of legitimate and constitutional agitation. It is quite possible, however, that at the back of his mind David Rees also felt that the actual destruction of the illegal toll-gates was justified under the circumstances and, if he did think so, it would be very difficult to show that he was not right.

In the "*Diwygiwr*" for August, 1843, there also appeared a scathing article entitled "The Great Tyranny," in which the editor described the serious social condition of the country, and the "intolerable strain" of the burden under which the people was groaning. He, of course, traced the evil back to the landlord, the squire and the State Church, and rang out the call to arms.

All these undoubted facts were seized upon with hungry avidity by "Brutus" and others, and David Rees found himself roundly accused not only of fomenting rebellion and violence, of "Rebeccanizing" the whole country, but even of directly providing incentives to murder, and at last of being himself the great Rebecca. Some of the great English papers were induced to saddle him with the responsibility. "The Great Tyranny" was translated and sent up to Sir James Graham at the Home Office, but after all the turmoil he was neither quartered drawn nor hung.

Of course, no leader in close touch with the people can altogether disclaim responsibility for some of the

extravagances of the men he leads; but David Rees had, at any rate, exerted himself to the utmost in trying to keep the agitation within the limits of law and order. This little extravaganza was only one of the petty attempts of "Brutus" to vent his spleen upon his ancient friends, upon whom he had turned his back.

So far only can we follow here the fortunes and misfortunes of the first generation of "political Dissenters;" but the Nonconformists ought to see that their story is written as a whole, for it forms an interesting link in the chain of causes that stretches from the Old to the New Wales, and it would describe one of the most important contributions of Nonconformity to the growth of the national life of Wales. To know the story of these men is one of the needs of Wales at the present time, when Labour has become political, and its leaders are striving to take the place of the "political Dissenter" in his relation to the people. Before they do so, it would be well for them to know how strenuously their predecessors have fought the battles of the people on many fields, and under many disadvantages, in the days of old. Historical gratitude might help them to understand their own people and Nonconformity better than many of them do. It would also help them to understand some of the conditions under which alone they can ever hope to win the people of Wales as a whole to their side. "The political Dissenter" has laboured, and the Labour leader is even now reaping the harvest, and while he is doing so, it would be well for him to be reminded now and then of the names of men like David Rees, Llanelli, who did the spade-work of political and social reform among the working people of Wales.

PROFESSOR D. MORGAN (Carmarthen).

PROFESSOR WILLIAM MORGAN, CARMARTHEN.

Born August 22, 1818; *educated at Froodvale Academy, Hackney College and University of Glasgow; first Pastor of Union Street Congregational Church,* 1847--1884; *Professor of Theology at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen,* 1863—1884; *died April* 25, 1884.

By PROFESSOR D. MORGAN LEWIS, M.A., ABERYSTWYTH.

PROFESSOR MORGAN was born in Carmarthenshire, and his life work was done in his native county. To understand a man's work we must know something of the intellectual and moral atmosphere in which he was nurtured, and the aims and hopes of the most strenuous workers whom he admired and followed.

Carmarthenshire has a long and honourable history. Many a ruin and many a name take us back to the days of brave warriors and fierce conflicts. A stranger visiting the town of Carmarthen might, indeed, suppose that it gloried exclusively in its soldiers, for nearly all the public monuments, from Picton's to Nott's, have been erected to the memory of such men. But there are others, as yet without monuments, whose memories, too, are cherished, and of whom all, whatever be their Church, may well be proud, such as Stephen Hughes, Peter Williams, David Peter and the like.

Professor Morgan was known as an ardent and conscientious advocate of civil and religious liberty, and a firm believer in Nonconformist principles as embodied more particularly in the Independent or Congregational form. Perhaps in no county in Wales is Independency so popular and influential. He thoroughly understood

its principles, and accepted them with the fullest confidence. In order to understand and do justice to his position we must know something of the atmosphere in which he was brought up.

For the details of his life I would refer the reader to the excellent memoir written by his son, Mr. J. Lloyd Morgan, K.C., M.P. A brief outline of the facts must here suffice.

William Morgan was born August 22, 1818, and was the second son of David and Elizabeth Morgan, of Forge, a farm near Whitland. The family worshipped at the Independent Chapel called Henllan. The church at Henllan is one of the oldest in the county, and probably owes its origin to the labours of the Rev. Stephen Hughes. The first chapel was built there in 1697. We find in the statistics of Dr. John Evans, compiled about 1715, that those connected with Henllan numbered about seven hundred. It is said that the parents of the celebrated Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddowror, were members of a Nonconformist church, and some have supposed that this, too, was Henllan. It is evident that the influence for good of such Nonconformist churches as this in the early decades of the 18th century was greater than some writers have supposed. Henllan was the scene of many earnest conflicts respecting matters of faith and discipline. The old disputes had given way to more peaceful but equally earnest discussions. In this religious atmosphere the future advocate of Protestant Nonconformity received his early impressions. His was a Puritan home in the best sense. There was much strictness, but it was not arbitrary. The children recognised that the rules of conduct which their parents enforced had a higher sanction than human caprice. David Morgan, like his father, John Morgan, before him, were

known to their neighbours as men who had an unusually high sense of duty and moral obligation. Tradition still preserves instances of their uprightness in commercial transactions, and bears witness to the influence on a whole neighbourhood of even a few men who put high ideals into consistent practice.

In those days many ministers of eminence made periodical preaching tours in districts far from their homes. The hospitality of the family at Forge was well known and many ministers, whose names have since become household words, called there and conducted services in a building, adjoining the house, which was fitted for the purpose. In this way the children received permanent impressions from the teaching and the conversation of such men as Williams, of Werns, the elder Roberts, of Llanbrynmair, as well as his two sons, S.R. and J.R.

Acquaintance with such men could not fail to leave the impression on the young mind of the subject of this sketch that the ministry was the noblest calling to which any man could aspire. Mr. Lloyd Morgan, in the memoir to which I have alluded, says :—

"But whether in the Presbyterian or the Independent form, Puritanism had taken a deep hold of that neighbourhood; and from that Puritanism which he inherited from his ancestors may doubtless be traced the unswerving fidelity to the principles of civil and religious liberty which were the distinguishing features of Mr. Morgan's character. These principles were put to a somewhat early test, for during his boyhood there resided in the immediate neighbourhood of Forge Mr. Thomas, a clergyman of the Church of England, who took a great interest in him, and who used playfully to argue with him on the question of Church and Dissent. This incident led his young friend to study the matter for

himself; and to this, perhaps, may be traced in some measure the thorough knowledge in after-life displayed by him when more seriously discussing the question."

After receiving the ordinary education of a farmer's son he was apprenticed to a draper at Narberth, where he remained for four years. Leaving Narberth he went to Carmarthen to Messrs. J. and G. Bagnall, the leading drapers in the town. Though his stay here was short he formed an acquaintance with Mr. George Bagnall which in after years developed into a sincere and lasting friendship. He left Carmarthen for a larger place of business in Sloane Street, London. Of Mr. Peters, the head of the firm, Mr. Morgan used to speak in terms of the highest respect, on account of the unvarying kindness and courtesy with which he treated his assistants, even when they differed widely from him in religion and politics. There was in connection with the establishment a Literary and Debating Society of which Mr. Morgan made good use. Here he soon found himself called upon to defend his Nonconformist principles. He did this with his usual earnestness, but in such a manner as to win the sincere respect of his opponents.

During his stay in London he was drawn to the Christian ministry, and ultimately decided to give up business and prepare to enter College. In later life he bore testimony to the value, to a minister, of a commercial training. It gave him, he maintained, special opportunities of knowing men in many moods and learning how to deal with them.

Like many candidates for the ministry in those days he went for preliminary instructions to the celebrated school kept by Dr. William Davies at Froodvale, of which an interesting account is given by the Commissioners who reported on education in Wales in 1847.

Leaving this school he went for a time to Hackney Independent College and from there proceeded to the University of Glasgow. The Nonconformist churches in Wales owe a debt of gratitude to the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow for the education of several of their ministers at a time when the older Universities of England were closed to them. The old Scottish University course was eminently suitable for the general training of a Welsh ministerial student. At Glasgow Mr. Morgan was specially attracted to Mathematics, Logic and Moral Philosophy. Though he did not become a regular theological student, he had the privilege of attending some lectures delivered by Dr. Wardlaw, the Principal Tutor of the Congregational Theological Hall. These lectures were delivered in connection with the church of which Dr. Wardlaw was also minister, and were attended by students who desired some guidance in theological matters, in view of their future careers. Mr. Morgan was much influenced by Dr. Wardlaw, and he often referred to him in terms of warm affection. With reference to Mr. Morgan at this period the Rev. Charles Short, M.A., D.D., says:—

"I don't think I ever knew a man who more completely won our most genuine respect. I lived with him for two whole sessions; saw him when he was alone and in company; saw him when he was conscientiously intent upon his work and when he relaxed in his hours of ease, when the talk became free and laughter unrestrained, and I never saw an action nor heard a word that could for a moment lessen the deep esteem in which I held him. It did not seem to cost him an effort to be unselfish—it was the spontaneous action of his nature; and he was far more sensitive about the comfort of others than about himself."

During his last year at Glasgow Mr. Morgan's health was in an unsatisfactory state, and when the end of his course came he did not present himself for the degree examination. He left fully intending to return for the purpose of graduating, an intention which, however, he did not carry into effect.

In the year 1847, on April 27, a new Independent Chapel was opened in Union Street, Carmarthen, and Mr. Morgan was invited to become the pastor of the newly formed church. He was ordained there in August of the same year.

The visit of Mr. Edward Miall to Carmarthen in October, 1848, to advocate the cause of the Anti-State Church Association, led to Mr. Morgan's early identification with the movement. At the meeting he moved the first resolution. He clearly states his position in the following extract:—

"Some persons, I doubt not, have falsely supposed that this meeting is intended to create unfriendly feelings between Churchmen and Dissenters. Nothing could have been more remote from the truth than such a supposition. We have nothing whatever to do with persons but with principles and, whilst we admire the learning, the talent and the piety which are to be found in the Established Church, we condemn the connection between the Church and the State because we who dissent from the Establishment hold that error does not deserve State-aid, and that the truth does not require it."

When the Church rate question was prominently before the inhabitants of the town Mr. Morgan took part in the public discussion. He delivered an address in which he clearly stated his position. In one place he says: "I wish you distinctly to understand that I am

not opposed to Church rates because they are in connection with your Church, but because I am opposed to all compulsory means in Divine things." In November, 1855, a vestry meeting was called to consider the question of enforcing the rate, and a vote was taken and followed by a poll in which, by a large majority, it was decided not to levy the rate. This practically settled the question as far as Carmarthen was concerned.

Other questions arose on which Churchmen and Nonconformists differed greatly. The most prominent of these was the question of Education. Mr. Morgan's attitude in regard to the subject of elementary education, as well as that of the training of candidates for the ministry, will be considered later. In connection with the latter it may be stated here that in 1863 he was invited to undertake the duties of the office of theological tutor at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, and that he continued to occupy this position till his death.

In 1868, on the resignation of the chaplain of the workhouse at Carmarthen, Mr. Morgan and other Nonconformist ministers of the town offered to take part in turn in ministering to the inmates. The guardians accepted the offer, as will be seen from the following resolution which they adopted :—

"That no chaplain be appointed in consequence of a letter having been received from the Rev. William Morgan, stating that he had consulted with six of his brother ministers in the town, and that they were willing in turn to discharge the spiritual duties of the workhouse either with or without the co-operation of the clergy."

The Episcopal clergy in the first instance strongly opposed, but ultimately the vicar of the parish, the Rev. Latimer M. Jones, fell in with the movement

and consented to officiate in his turn. The other clergy, after keeping aloof for a time, latterly assisted in the work.

In his own church at Union Street, Mr. Morgan was very regular and faithful in the discharge of all his duties both on Sundays and week days. He was noted for punctuality in the fulfilment of all his engagements.

On the first morning of his attendance at the college the Principal, Dr. Lloyd, asked him "Are you sure, Mr. Morgan, that it will be no inconvenience for you to be here by nine o'clock in the morning?" and his reply was "Well, doctor, that is the only thing I am quite sure about." He was there for twenty-one years and was never late. Watcyn Wyn, in an interesting article on Professor Morgan in the "*Geninen*," 1889, refers to the same characteristic in relation to the Sunday services. "On Sunday morning he was to be seen in his pulpit quietly seated as if to watch the hands of the clock move up to ten; when the hour struck the minister was on his feet, as if impelled by the spring of the clock—to the second!"

Though he recognised that his duty was primarily to his own church and congregation he felt that it was his duty also to do all he could to promote the cause of Evangelical Christianity in the town and country. Churches of his own order, though independent of any external authority, were united by many bonds resulting from their history and from the doctrines and principles which they held in common. The Independent ministers of the county as well as members of the churches met at quarterly meetings for conference. Preaching services where held in connection with these. A similar meeting on a largerscale was held once a year for the churches of the three counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan and

Pembroke. At all these Mr. Morgan gave his presence and services. His counsel was always greatly valued in conference, and he was highly esteemed as a preacher. His style was quiet and argumentative, and he had little of that very fascinating quality of voice called "hwyl." His preaching was nevertheless appreciated by all classes, and no one was more popular in his circle than he, either in a chapel or on the stage of the "Gymanfa."

In the year 1857, Mr. Morgan was married to Margaret, the youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Rees, of Capel Tydist, near Llandilo. The marriage was a very happy one. Mrs. Morgan, by her skilful conduct of domestic affairs and by her quiet Christian character and temper, proved herself an invaluable helper to her husband, and gained the respect and esteem of all who knew her. Her death, which occurred in the spring of 1880, left a deep impression on her husband whose health had also been failing. He survived her but four years. Though in very indifferent health during the latter years of his life he continued to perform his duties at the College. The church at Union Street also firmly refused to allow him to resign the pastoral charge as he had proposed to do, but arranged to procure for him what assistance he needed. He died on April 25, 1884, in his sixty-sixth year.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

After what had been said of Mr. Morgan as a man of conscientious religious convictions and an earnest minister of the Gospel, it may be a matter of surprise to some, though not to those who knew him best, that he advocated what is called "the secular solution" of the problem of elementary education in State-aided schools.

As this question is still before the country and is one of great public interest it may be well to devote a little space to the discussions of fifty years ago. The following extracts from Mr. Lloyd Morgan shows us the state of the question in and prior to the year 1855.

"The Government in 1835 began to make grants towards the building of schools conducted on the principles of the National School Society or the British and Foreign School Society. The amount of this grant after a few years rapidly increased, and was applied not only towards school buildings but also towards the payment of teachers and the supply of school apparatus.

"A large number of the leading Nonconformists in Wales objected on conscientious grounds to receive any Government aid for educational purposes, and consequently the spread of British Schools under Government inspection was comparatively slow. The clergy of the Church of England, on the other hand, extensively availed themselves of the liberal building grants offered, and established a large number of Church or National Schools. Some years later the Nonconformists overcame their scruples and accepted Government aid; but by this time a large number of districts had been fully supplied by means of National Schools, and grants to build British Schools in the same places could not be obtained.

"In this way it happened that a large proportion of the schools built and maintained with the assistance of Government in South Wales between 1845 and 1855 were National Schools, although such schools were unsuitable to a population in which Nonconformists largely preponderated.

"It is to be borne in mind that at that time there was no conscience clause enforced in these schools, the

scholars being not only required to learn the Church Catechism, but also expected to attend church and the Church Sunday School. In the British Schools, it may be mentioned, though the Bible is read and religious instruction founded on it given, no catechism or dogma distinctive of any religious denomination is taught.

"When Mr. Bowstead, who was a large-hearted English Churchman of broad and liberal views, came to inspect the British Schools in South Wales about 1853, he soon perceived the anomaly of a large preponderance of Church Schools amongst a Dissenting population. In his general report to the Government in 1855 he pointed out this peculiarity, and ably and fully discussed the general condition of education in Wales, maintaining that British or undenominational schools were alone suitable for the Principality."

This report and the correspondence to which it gave rise seem not to be well-known at the present time and some curiosity with regard to them was manifested at one of the sittings of the Welsh Church Commission a little while ago. The following passages are from Mr. Bowstead's report:

"South Wales must be recognised as a land of Dissenters and the schools intended for its benefit must be such as to command the confidence of men who hold nothing so precious as perfect religious freedom. The right of the parent to be the sole director of the child's religious training must be held sacred; and the idea that men zealously attached to one denomination can be content to leave the education of their offspring at the mercy of the ministers of another must be altogether abandoned. The Nonconformists of South Wales are firmly resolved to submit to no domination on the part of the Establishment; but they have no desire to exercise

domination themselves. They are for the most part ready, in school affairs, to act with the Church on terms of perfect equality, and to support endowed schools, basing their highest teaching on the Bible, but rejecting all catechisms and denominational peculiarities . . They attach the highest value to religious instruction; but they (of the working classes) prefer obtaining it for themselves and their families by means of the Sunday School. The schools best suited for such a population are those based upon the unsectarian, yet strictly Scriptural, principles of the British and Foreign School Society."

Dr. Thirlwall, then Bishop of St. David's, in a Charge delivered to his clergy in 1860, severely criticised these statements and denounced them as absurd exaggerations," and asserted that it would be doing great injustice to Nonconformists to impute such a sentiment either to the more intelligent or better educated among them, or to the great mass of their people." The Charge was subsequently printed and circulated.

When these criticisms came to Mr. Bowstead's knowledge he issued a circular to the leading Nonconformists in South Wales in which he referred to these comments, and stated that his report was founded on what he believed to be the feelings of Dissenters in his district with regard to strict Church of England Schools. "They, the Nonconformists," he said, "must know their own minds better than I know them, and better even than the Bishop knows them. . . I propose, therefore, to ascertain from eminent Nonconformists in all parts of the South Wales district, which of the two is the juster interpretation of their sentiments: that of the Bishop and the National School Society, who assert in substance that the Welsh Dissenters are perfectly satisfied with National Schools, and gladly send their children to be educated

in them; or that which I have ventured to propound, and which represents the Dissenting body as generally distrusting such schools, and not infrequently holding aloof from them."

In reply to this appeal upwards of three hundred letters and resolutions were received by Mr. Bowstead, endorsing the accuracy of his statement. A large number of these letters were afterwards printed. Among the letters was one from Mr. Morgan. Referring to the Charge of the Bishop, he says:

"If his lordship had been rightly informed he would have discovered that the more intelligent and better educated among the Dissenters in South Wales, and I may say the great mass of the people, are decidedly opposed to the catechetical instruction of the strict Church of England Schools."

In illustration of the difficulties which may arise from the attempt to teach the Church Catechism to a child of Dissenting parents, he mentions a case of which he had heard, where a child was examined in the Church Catechism and gave his name in answer to the first question, but when asked who gave him that name declined answering; and when he was severely chastised for his disobedience he cried out "I dare not lie, sir." In conclusion, he expresses his regret that "the teachers of the religion of Him who taught His disciples that their yea should be yea, and their nay nay, should allow, much less justify, such teaching."

The modern mind is, perhaps, not so much troubled as to whether one can without any violation of truth make statements as mere literature which do not apply to all individual cases. The boy in question evidently felt that he could not give the answer to the Catechism, nor indeed was the Bishop altogether surprised. A

copy of the letters having been sent to him, he commented on some of them in reply. Referring to the anecdote, he is unable to attach to it the same significance as Mr. Morgan; he however adds: "But as to the sentiment of 'regret' which it elicits, this gentleman has my entire assent and most hearty sympathy. There is no term of disapprobation which he, and those who think with him, can apply to such a proceeding, in which I am not ready to join. Only, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, I shall impute it, wherever it had occurred, rather to ignorance or thoughtlessness than to a deliberate purpose of forcing or inducing a child to tell a lie. It is possible that there may have been teachers in National Schools so little qualified for their office as never to have reflected that the opening questions of the Catechism are in the letter only applicable to children who have been both baptised and received into the Church according to the forms of the Church of England, and that they ought not to be put to any others."

In defence of his position Mr. Morgan addressed to the Bishop a long letter dated August 15, 1861, which is given in full in his Memoir. Before coming to the question involved in the teaching of the whole of the Catechism to Dissenting children, he discusses the general situation. With regard to the British School system he says: "I need only say that we do not consider that system perfect, but that it is the best that has been offered for our acceptance, and far preferable to the National system." He then proceeds to state the feeling of Dissenters with respect to strict Church of England Schools:

"To prevent all misunderstanding I may as well state here that I consider the National Schools 'strict Church of England Schools,' and that the terms are synonymous for the following reasons:—

"Let me suppose schools established for the purpose of promoting the education of the poor in the principles of Congregational Nonconformity throughout England and Wales. The managers of such schools must be Independents; the masters and mistresses must be members of an Independent Church; and the schools are to be subject to the religious superintendence of an Independent minister. And all disputes between the managers and the ministers are to be referred to the Chairman of the Congregational Union, who is also an Independent minister, and whose decision is to be final. Would you not, my lord, consider such schools strict Independent Schools? and for similar reasons I consider National Schools 'strict Church of England Schools.'

"In what light, then, do we view them, and what are our feelings towards them? The schools are established for the purpose of teaching the children of our poor in the principles of an Established Church to which we conscientiously object. We cannot, according to the terms of union, become managers. Our members cannot become masters or mistresses. Our ministers cannot superintend the religious education of the children. And add to all this that the schools are supported by public money, and that we are an overwhelming majority. Now, my lord, this is the system which you advocate; a system which ignores our existence; a system which has for its object to teach our children that principles which are as dear to us as our existence, and for which our forefathers sacrificed their liberty and their lives, are false; and, what seems almost incredible, you say that we have no objection to such a system."

While the Bishop himself would not teach the opening questions of the Catechism to Dissenting children there were some of the clergy in his diocese who made no

distinction between children of Churchmen and Dissenters, but taught the Catechism and other formularies of the Church to all the children without exception. Remarking on this, Mr. Morgan says: "Your lordship in the above comment has allowed that my conclusion is legitimate, and your correspondents have allowed that my premises are sound."

He claims the equality of all citizens in relation to the laws of their country:

"It is not as Dissenters that we petition the Council of Education, but as citizens!" And, in reply to those who charge Nonconformist ministers with being political agitators, he says: "Our accusers should remember that we have not ceased to be citizens in becoming ministers, and that it is only a political Church that can make political Dissenters."

Mr. Morgan, as may well be supposed, was greatly interested in the attempt made to solve the question of elementary education in 1870. Space will not permit of a full survey of the controversies of that period. It may be well, however, in conclusion, to give Mr. Morgan's views on the subject of religious teaching in schools. In a lecture on the subject he said:

"The child is possessed of a physical, mental and moral nature. His physical constitution was entrusted by the parent, when occasion required it, to the medical man—the mental should be confided to the schoolmaster—and the moral to the religious teacher. Each was especially trained for his particular function, and though doubtless, in some exceptional instances, the qualifications might be combined still, as a general rule, it would be unwise to entrust the child's mental training to the medical man or the moral training to the schoolmaster."

On a subsequent occasion, at a meeting of the Carmarthen School Board of which he was a member, he expressed himself as follows :—

"I will now give my reasons for objecting to the introduction of religious teaching into public elementary schools, but before doing so allow me to say that it is not because I am opposed to teaching the Bible. I have spent a great part of my life in doing this, and I hope to do so to the end. It is not because I am opposed to teaching religion to the rising generation because, as a rule, I am present at the Sunday School every Sunday, and those who attend my ministry can testify that the young are scarcely ever forgotten in my public discourses. I object to the introduction of religious education into the public elementary schools because the public schoolmaster is not the proper teacher, the day-school is not the proper place, and the State is not the proper paymaster."

THE TRAINING OF CANDIDATES FOR THE MINISTRY.

As we have already seen, Mr. Morgan held for twenty-one years the position of Theological Tutor at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen. The Presbyterian and Independent churches and ministers in the early part of the 18th century differed very little from one another in respect of church government. The difference, when it became emphasised, was on matters of doctrine. Presbyterian Churches which remained Calvanistic soon identified themselves with the Independents, while those which diverged in the direction of Arminianism, Arianism and finally Unitarianism often retained the name Presbyterian. This, in particular, was the case with the Presbyterian Fund and its Board. The Theological College at Carmarthen has been and continues to be under the management of the Presbyterian

Board which has for many years been Unitarian in the composition of its members. The Board has conducted the affairs of the college throughout in a generous and broad-minded spirit. There have always been a large number of Independents among its students and usually one, and sometimes two, Independents among its tutors. Mr. Morgan's department embraced Mental and Moral Science, Butler's "Analogy," Homiletics, Logic, and some theological subjects which were not of a doctrinal character.

The friends of the college among the Independents regarded Mr. Morgan's appointment as a great gain to the institution, and there can be no doubt that his connection with the college greatly increased its popularity among the churches of his own denomination. He was very happy in his work there. There are many of his old students both in England and in Wales who whenever his name is mentioned, speak of him with the greatest respect and affection. Of his relation to the students, Professor D. E. Jones, M.A., says :—

"There are many men who can do good and able work in the world, but few only can invest it with that nameless personal influence which captivates while it instructs, and expands and refines the feelings in the process of education. No one was more gifted with this rare endowment than Professor Morgan. I never saw anything better than his manner towards his students. There was in it ease yet dignity, so respectful of them and of himself, that no one could think of presuming with him. He was peculiarly considerate of the students in all his dealings with them, and was always very popular. The respect, affection and obedience of his class was given to him spontaneously as a tribute of loyalty to the man. His perfect courtesy, manhood, and native

dignity were, with his stimulating intellect, the secret of their love for him."

The Rev. T. L. Marshall, for many years the secretary of the Presbyterian Board, and almost always a member of the annual deputation to the college at the end of each session, writing to his son, Mr. Lloyd Morgan, says:

"I was impressed from the beginning with the singular modesty and entire absence of pretence and self-assertion in your father's character. He was one of those men, so rare in these restless, excited times, who always take the lowest place and with reluctance obey the invitation, 'Friend, go up higher.' But with quiet reserve and almost childlike simplicity he combined great strength of character and purpose, and I am sure that your memoir will show that he was among the foremost in the strenuous vindication of great principles and the assertion of equal rights."

THE OLD COLLEGE COURSE.

The college system in connection with which Professor Morgan worked has almost completely passed away. It had its obvious defects, which it is hoped to remedy in the more modern arrangements. It may not be out of place to conclude this article with a few observations on some of the characteristics of this system.

1. We notice the mature age to which a candidate proposing to enter the ministry might postpone his final decision,

It was an article of belief among the old Dissenters that no one should seek to enter the ministry who did not feel himself distinctly called of God to the work. It was not regarded by them as a profession but as a sacred calling. Clear evidence of religious character and conviction were sought in all candidates. It was

also assumed that they had already been recognised their own churches as young men possessing certain gi of speech and the ability to conduct certain public ligious exercises. The churches and the colleges look out for the preacher first; after that they were prepa to promote his education.

2. The system of education which suited these ide was characterised by discontinuity.

In those days there was very little intermediate edu tion. Where it existed few only were able to obtain The poorer members of the churches were obliged engage in some occupation, such as farming, mini the pursuit of a trade or some form of business. must not be forgotten that the chapel was the centre powerful educative influences. The mind of many thoughtful young man was probably first awakened serious thought on problems of life, morality, duty a destiny by religious and theological discussions. P haps, after reaching the age of eighteen or twenty, begins seriously to think of the ministry as his futu calling. For this he must abandon his occupation an like the disciples of old, enter on new work in a n spirit but, like them, he too can bring to it the expe ences and aptitudes which the old work created. He now prepared to resume his education. Whether th discontinuity is to be deprecated or not it is absolute necessary to recognise its existence if we would ful understand the old system of ministerial training.

3. The system was also distinguished by the absen of specialisation.

The young man whom we have described had fi of all to go to a preparatory school kept usually by minister whose education had been better than t average, or by one who, though not a minister, had beer

successful student in one of the theological colleges. Here he would remain for eighteen months or two years, learning some Latin and Greek, some mathematics and certain other subjects required for the entrance examination of the college. All the candidates admitted in any one year formed a separate class. They attended the same lectures and did the same work: they all attempted it, at least. At the end of four years there was naturally much difference between the best and the worst. Some of them left college prepared to continue their studies in after life; others shared the feeling of that student who, on coming down the college stairs for the last time as a student, exclaimed "Good bye, Euclid bach, am byth." In spite of these differences, however, all members of the class had a basis of common studies which enabled them in future years to understand one another.

4. Another feature which was specially characteristic of Carmarthen College was the almost complete absence of professional studies.

The theology taught was such as Unitarians and Trinitarians could accept. The readiness of Mr. Morgan to acquiesce in the exclusion of dogmatic theology from the college course may, I think, be connected with his approval of the exclusion of religious instruction from the elementary schools. The intense intellectual activity of the churches in relation to theological questions was such that every ministerial candidate must, as a matter of course, be already familiar with different points of doctrine, and it was felt that he only needed a wider range of knowledge in Classics and Philosophy to enable him further to elaborate and reconstruct his doctrinal system.

The case presented here is a very interesting one.

On the one hand we have a country where theologica discussions in the past had so quickened the thought of the churches that members generally were wel acquainted with these topics and, on the other hand, class of ministers whose faculties had been strengthened and disciplined by classical and philosophica studies rather than by those of a technical and professional nature. They felt that they could and mus teach what they had learned.

At Carmarthen the only instruction of a professiona nature, if that may be called such, was given in the sermon class, where students had in turn to read sermon which was then criticised by his fellow student and by the professor. Watcyn Wyn, in the articl from which I have already quoted, refers in his humorou way to the experience of a student who had undergon the ordeal, and acknowledges the great service whic Professor Morgan rendered to his students in this class.

Professor Morgan did not leave much behind him i print, but during the years of his active life he produce a deep impression on the minds of successive genera tions of theological students who have done and ar continuing to do valuable service to the cause of trut and religion in the ministry of the Gospel.

Photo. by] [*Elliot & Fr*

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH

(President of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire)

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF PLYMOUTH.

President of the University College of South Wales, Cardiff.

In religion a Churchman, in politics a Conservative. A nobleman who by his character, his devotion to the public weal, and the large-heartedness of his manhood claims a foremost place among the public men of his time. Has a thorough knowledge of the educational needs and aspirations of the Principality, full of earnest zeal for the welfare of the common people, and is animated by the noblest aims and purposes of philanthropy.

First Earl (cr. 1905), Robert George Windsor-Clive, 14th Baron (cr. 1529); C.B. 1905; P.C., D.L., J.P.; Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorganshire since 1890; Colonel of the Queen's Own Worcestershire Hussars; Hon. Colonel of Second Glamorganshire Volunteer Artillery since 1890; of Second Batt. Worcestershire Regiment since 1891; of Third Batt. Welsh Regiment; (William Fitzwalter was Castellan of Windsor under Empress Maud; his son attended Henry II. in his wars in Normandy. First Baron Windsor attended Henry VIII. on his French expedition and distinguished himself at Siege of Terouenne, 1513. Third Baron distinguished himself at Siege of St. Quintin, 1557. Sixth Baron became Rear-Admiral of the Fleet sent by James I. to escort his son Prince Charles to Spain. Seventh Baron became first Earl of Plymouth, 1682. Twelfth Baron died 1833, when his uncle became seventh Earl, and Barony fell into abeyance till restored to his sister Harriet, 1855); born August 27, 1857; son of Hon. Robert Windsor-Clive, M.P.; grandson of Baroness

Windsor and of Mary, daughter of second Earl of Br
ford; succeeded grandmother, 1869; married Albe
daughter of Right Hon. Sir Augustus Berkeley Pa
P.C., K.C.B., 1883.

Educated: Eton; St. John's College, Cambridge (M.A
Mayor of Cardiff, 1895-96; Paymaster-General, 1891-
First Commissioner of Works, 1902-5.

THE RIGHT HON. LORD RENDEL
(President of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth).

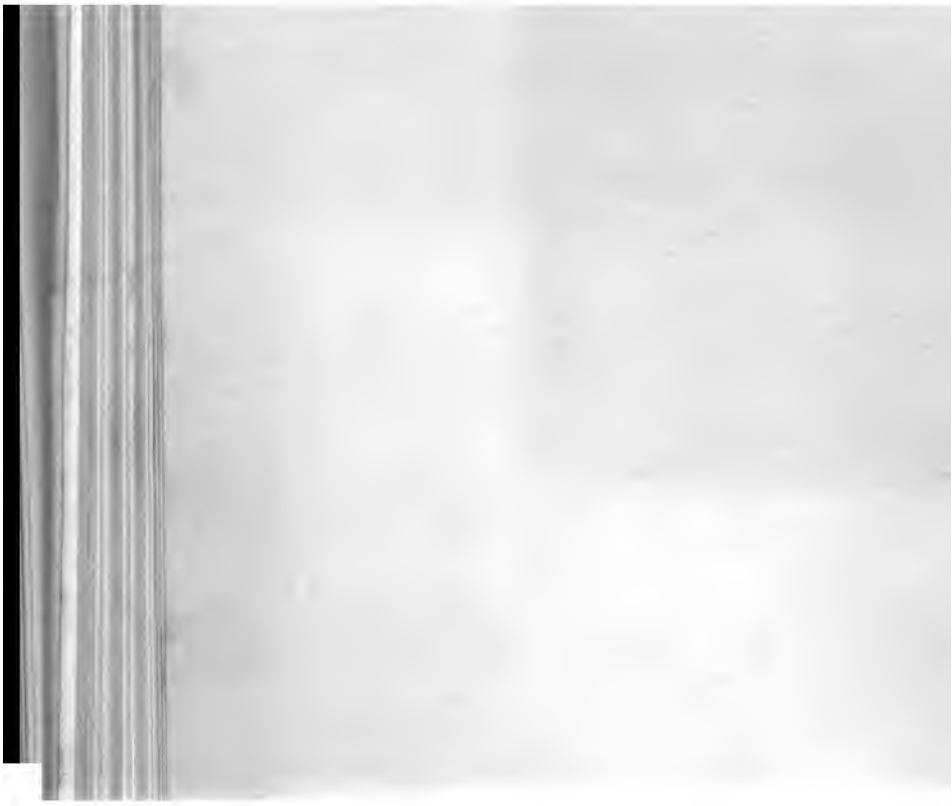
THE RIGHT HON. LORD RENDEL.

President of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

First Baron (cr. 1894), Stuart Rendel, J.P., President University College of Wales since 1895; born July 2, 1834,; third son of late James Meadows Rendel, F.R.S., C.E.; married Ellen, daughter of William Egerton Hubbard, Leonard's Lee, Horsham, and niece of first Baron Addington, 1857.

Educated: Eton; Oriel College, Oxford (B.A.); Barrister Inner Temple, 1861, late member of Sir W. Armstrong and Co., Engineers; M.P. (G.) Montgomeryshire, 1880-94.

Heir: None



THE RIGHT HON. LORD KENYON
(President of the University College of North Wales.)

THE RIGHT HON. LORD KENYON.

President of the University College of North Wales, Bangor.

KENYON; fourth Baron (cr. 1788); Lloyd Kenyon, D.L., J.P.; Baronet, 1784; Baron of Gredington, 1788; Lord-in-Waiting to the King; (First Lord Kenyon became Lord Chief Justice of England, 1788); born London, July 5, 1864; only son of late Hon. Lloyd and daughter of first Baron Harlech, Brogyntyn, Shropshire; succeeded grandfather, 1869.

Educated: Eton; Christ Church, Oxford. Major, and second in command, Shropshire Imperial Yeomanry. Owns about 8,000 acres.

Heir: *v.* Hon. George T. Kenyon, *q.v.*

Photo. by] [*Messrs. Bassano, Londo*

SIR H. R. REICHEL, M.A., LL.D.

(Principal of the University College of North Wales, Bangor, and Consulta
Member of the Board of Education).

SIR H. R. REICHEL, M.A., LL.D.

Principal of the University College of North Wales, Bangor.

BORN in Belfast, October 11, 1856; second son of late Bishop of Meath and Mary Brown M'Cracken; married, Charity Mary, eldest daughter of H. M. Pilkington, Q.C., Tore, Tyrrellspass, County Westmeath, 1894.

Educated: Christ's Hospital; Balliol College, Oxford (M.A.); Fellow of All Souls' College, 1880-87; re-elected for a second term, 1888-95; Vice-Chancellor University of Wales, 1899—1901; Chairman Board of Examinations for Educational Handwork since 1898; Hon. LL.D. Glasgow, 1901; Member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education.

Photo. by [H. H. Davies, Aberystwyth.

T. F. ROBERTS, M.A., LL.D.
(Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth).

T. F. ROBERTS, M.A., LL.D.

Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

BORN September 25, 1860, eldest son of Thomas Roberts, Aberdovey, Merioneth; married Mary Elizabeth, eldest child of Robert Davies, Cardiff, 1893.

Educated: Towyn Academy; University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (Scholar and Associate 1874 to 1879); St. John's College, Oxford (Scholar 1879-83), First Class Classical Moderations, Oxford, 1881; First Class Lit. Hum. 1883; M.A. 1886; Hon. LL.D. Victoria University, 1902; Professor of Greek in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff, 1883-91; Chairman of the Cardiganshire County Governing Body of Intermediate Schools, 1896-99, 1901-2; Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, 1897-98, 1901-3; Member of Cardiganshire Education Committee.

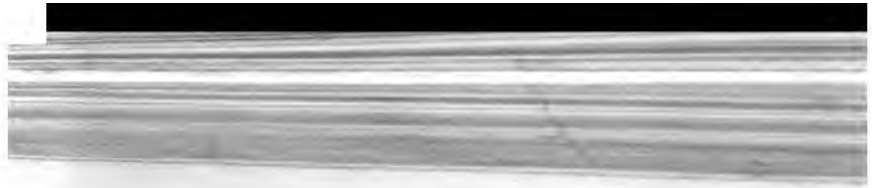


Photo. by] [*H. J. B. Wills, Cardiff*

E. H. GRIFFITHS, LL.D., D.S., F.R.SC.,
(Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff).

E. H. GRIFFITHS, M.A., Sc.D., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Principal of the University College of South Wales, Cardiff.

PRINCIPAL and Professor of Experimental Philosophy, University College of Wales since 1901; born at Brecon, June 15, 1851; married Elizabeth, daughter of late George D. Clark, Bowdon, Cheshire.

Educated: Owens College, Manchester; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Formerly Fellow, and now Hon. Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; Vice-Chancellor of the University of Wales, 1903-5; Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, 1905-6; President of Section A of the British Association, 1906; Fellow of the Phil. Soc. Cantab, and of the Physical Soc. London; Co-opted Member of the Educational Committees of Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire and Cardiff County Councils.

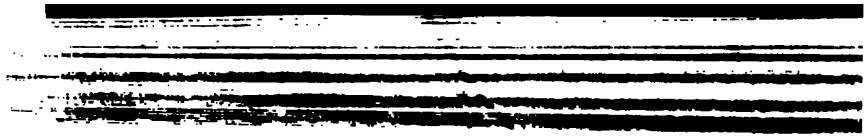
Photo. by] [*Frederick McFadyean, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*

SIR ISAMBARD OWEN, K.T., D.C.L., F.R.C.P.,
(Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales).

SIR ISAMBARD OWEN, Kt., D.C.L., M.D., M.A., F.R.C.P.

Principal of Armstrong College, Newcastle.

Born at Bellevue House, near Chepstow, Monmouthshire, December 28, 1850. He is the son of the late William George Owen, Chief Engineer of the Great Western Railway. He married in the year 1905 Ethel, daughter of the late Lewis H. Thomas, of Caerffynnon, Merioneth. Sir Isambard was educated at King's School, Gloucester; Rossall; Downing College, Cambridge. Has had a very distinguished career and stands high in the esteem of his contemporaries as a scholar, educationist and patriot. He has held the honoured and responsible office of Senior Deputy Chancellor of the University of Wales since 1895; late Vice-President of the University College, Bangor; member of Council of the University College, Cardiff; Governor of University College, Aberystwyth; member of the Central Welsh Board; late President of the Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland 1898—1899; member of Senate University of Durham.



OWEN M. EDWARDS. M.A.
Board of Education.

OWEN M. EDWARDS.

Born December 25, 1858, son of the late Owen Edwards, Coedypry of Llanuwchllyn, North Wales; his mother, Ellen, being the daughter of the late Evan Davies, of Prys Mawr, Llanuwchllyn. Educated at Bala Grammar School, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A. of London University; B.A. of Oxford University; Winner of the Brackenbury Scholarship, and three University Prizes—Stanhope, Lothian and Arnold; M.P, for Merioneth, 1889—1900; Editor and Proprietor of "Cymru," Editor of the works of Islwyn, Ceiriog, Goronwy Owen and Dafydd ap Gwilym; Author of the "Story of Wales," and other writings on Welsh History and Literature; Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; Lecturer on Modern History at Lincoln College since 1889; appointed Chief Inspector for Welsh Education, February, 1907.

THE subject of this sketch is one of the most interesting personalities in the national life of Wales. In relation to Welsh educational and literary movements his position is unique: it is unique, not only on account of the distinguished position to which he has, on his merits, attained, but also through his intimate knowledge of Welsh life, with its attendant perils and possibilities, as well as his association with successive stages in the educational evolution of the Principality. Like his friend and co-worker, Thomas E. Ellis, he came early in life under the observation of Mr. Gladstone, who selected him as adviser to the Education Department prior to the

granting of the University Charter for Wales. His attitude on that critical occasion was a decisive factor in the history of the Welsh University. Mr. Edwards has always been an idealist, and has had the satisfaction of seeing most of his ideals coming to fruition, especially with regard to Welsh history and the teaching of the Welsh language. He gained a brilliant reputation at Oxford as a scholar and teacher, also as examiner for that and other seats of learning. A man of erudition, and to erudition he has added wide and deep culture, the vulgarity of self-assertion being entirely foreign to his nature. He has not out-grown his earlier memories and racial characteristics, and still loves the solitudes and pastoral melancholy of his native hills; the wholesome blood of the Celt predominating in his veins. During his sojourn in the land of the Saxon he found time to establish and to edit five magazines, four of which were published in Welsh, and one in English, and of all the editors who have surveyed the intellectual and social outlook of Welsh life and thought, he stands alone. The insularity and servility of Welsh denominational papers to their leaders and masters is deplorable: they know no mean between extravagant laudation and merciless abuse, and have long since lost their ascendancy over the minds of thoughtful people. They are narrow in their aims, limited in their views, and sadly lacking in literary style. Mr. Owen M. Edwards has, on the contrary, throughout his career acted the part of a pure literary critic, the judgments of whose intellect have been unsoiled by sect, and unmarred by politics, success, or the environments of University life. He has the instinct, taste and directness necessary for just as well as high criticism. His prophecies as to certain movements and personalities are being rapidly fulfilled, and his

literary criticisms are likely to be accepted more and more as the years pass by. He has done more than any other Welshman, with the exception of Kilsby Jones, to secularise Welsh literature, and to emancipate the Welsh mind from the tyranny of theological ideas. It can be said of him, as it cannot be said of any other, that he is the sanest and highest representative Welshman of his generation, a man known and understood of the people. Nominally a Calvinistic Methodist, but he is in reality a member of no one of the embondaged sectarists. Intellectual, intuitive, catholic in spirit, and highly patriotic, recognising inherent worth in all men irrespective of creed and traditions, with a fresh mind open to receive light from whatever source it may come, the noblest figure in the literary life of Wales at this hour, the white light of whose intellect finds its way into every region of his work. This is his great distinction. His patriotism is not of the frenzied kind, but solid and discriminating; having immense faith in his race, yet recognising its limitations. In disposition he is reticent and docile, the child-like element being one of the most charming features in his character. His appointment to the Chief Inspectorship of the Welsh Department at the Board of Education has given general satisfaction; none disputed his claim, for he has during his strenuous life, consistently pressed for a fuller recognisation of Welsh history in the curriculum of our Welsh Colleges, and has insisted that its legitimate place be given to the Welsh language. He has proved himself to be an educationist with sound and statesmanlike instincts, and his productions indicate that he possesses both understanding and discernment. Mr. Edwards has enriched and beautified our literature, and has made solid and permanent contributions to its artistic and intellectual impulses; his exquisite description

in Welsh of his travels in Brittany, Italy and Switzerland bear with them the odour of true and delicate genius. He has already fulfilled the promise of his youth and there is every indication that he will justify the confidence which the Government has reposed in him, and that he will in this new sphere fulfil the expectations of patriotic Welshmen in this and other lands. The editor is grateful for the opportunity of commending such a fine personality to the attention of young Welshmen as a study in all that is best and sanest in Welsh life and thought.

ALFRED T. DAVIES.
Board of Education.

ALFRED T. DAVIES.

MR. ALFRED T. DAVIES is a native of Liverpool and a member of a well-known Denbighshire family. He was educated at the Waterloo High School, near Liverpool, and at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, where he was the contemporary of the late Mr. Tom Ellis, M.P., Principal T. F. Roberts, Professor J. E. Lloyd, and Messrs. S. T. Evans, K.C., M.P., and Ellis T. Griffith, M.P.

After leaving Aberystwyth, Mr. Davies was articled to a leading firm of solicitors in Liverpool with whom, on the completion of his articles, he remained as managing clerk. In that capacity he gained an extensive acquaintance with Parliamentary work in connection with important undertakings in South Wales and elsewhere. In 1886 he commenced private practice in Liverpool in partnership with Mr. Herbert Lewis, afterwards M.P. for Flint Boroughs and latterly for Flint County.

In 1895 he was appointed, by the Chancellor of the Duchy, Cursitor of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

For many years, Mr. Davies was prominent as an expert in the field of licensing law administration, in connection with which his services were in great request throughout the county. He acted in a large number of leading cases in that branch of legal work, some of which (*e.g.* Rex v. Farnham Justices) are of historic interest, and others, which came before the House of Lords; whilst his numerous publications on the subject have had a very wide circulation.

In addition to his works on licensing, Mr. Davies is the author of several papers and pamphlets, including one on "The relation of municipal actions to morals," which has been placed on the list of official publications

of more than one leading organization in the field of social reform, and another on "How best to foster the Welsh language among the children of Welsh parents resident outside Wales," which was read before the Hon. Cymmrodorion Society at the National Eisteddfod at Merthyr Tydvil, where its practical proposals were commended for general adoption.

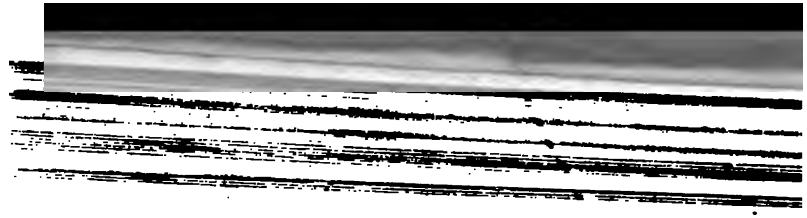
Mr. Davies has also been actively engaged for some years in the educational field, especially in Wales. As organising secretary, for five years, of a populous district in S.W. Lancashire he initiated and carried into effect a scheme of technical instruction which was a pronounced success. On the inclusion, in the educational code for evening continuation schools, of the subject, "The Life and Duties of the Citizen," Mr. Davies originated and carried to a successful issue a scheme for raising in Liverpool a fund, amounting to nearly £1,400, the income of which is applied (by means of scholarships to teachers in elementary schools) in promoting the study of that subject in conjunction with the social aspects of modern history. He has also studied educational questions in other countries, and recently paid a visit to Denmark to investigate the system of instruction in agriculture in operation there.

On the passing of the Education Act, 1902, Mr. Davies's professional services were much in request in connection with public enquiries held by the Board of Education, and in 1904 he was elected, without opposition, a member of the Denbighshire County Council, and, subsequently, a member of its Education Committee. In connection with these bodies he filled the offices of Chairman for the following Committees:—Selection, Attendance and General Purposes, Endowments and Charitable Trusts.

In 1906 he was elected a Governor of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, and, in the same year, he was appointed a Magistrate for Denbighshire.

In 1907 Mr. Davies was offered by the Government, and accepted, the position of Permanent Secretary to the newly-formed Welsh Department of the Board of Education, a position which he now occupies. Prior to his appointment to Whitehall, Mr. Davies, on several occasions, refused invitations to stand for Parliament.

Residences:—"Desmond," Blackheath Park, London, S.E., and "Brynhyfryd," Pontfadog, Ruabon, North Wales.



Painted by] [*Picker*

THE VERY REVEREND LLYWELYN LLEWELLIN, M.A., D.C.L
(Dean of St. David's, 1840—1878; and Principal of St. David's Colleg
Lampeter, 1826—1840).

Supplied by] [*Spurrell & Son, Carmarthen.*

THE RIGHT REV. THOMAS BURGESS, D.D.

(Lord Bishop of St. David's, 1803—1825, and Founder of St. David's College, Lampeter.)

THE VERY REVEREND LLYWELYN LEWELLIN, M.A., D.C.L.

The first Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and the first Dean of St. David's Cathedral.

BORN on August 3, 1798, at Tremains, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire, the third son of Mr. Richard Lewellin, his mother being the daughter of the Rev. David Jones, Rector of Llangan, one of the most celebrated revivalist preachers of that period. At the age of thirteen he entered Cowbridge Grammar School, and after a few years matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, having manifested abilities of no ordinary kind without the pecuniary assistance of a scholarship. Having concluded his collegiate career he went, by the wise advice of one of the tutors, to read for honours with Mr. Bethel, who afterwards became Lord Westbury, and with whom Dean Lewellin retained a life-long friendship. The intercourse between tutor and pupil having terminated to the advantage of both, the young Welshman achieved the eminence of a place in the first class in Literæ Humaniores in 1822. In that year he took Holy Orders as Deacon, and the following year as Priest, from the hands of the Bishop of Oxford. He frequently acted as public examiner, and his aptitude for teaching induced him to read with undergraduates in preparation for their examinations. Among his pupils at this period was a son of Sir Walter Scott, and a son of Young, the actor. In 1826 he was offered and accepted the Head Mastership of Bruton Grammar School in Somersetshire; but before his entrance upon the duties he was waited upon by Mr. Harford, of Blaise Castle, as a deputation from Bishop Jenkinson and

the subscribers to the funds towards establishing a new college at Lampeter for the better training of young men intending to seek Holy Orders, to urge Mr. Lewellin to undertake the responsible but honourable position of its First Principal. Animated by the ardent desire to benefit his Church and countrymen by the blessing of a higher education at little cost, the distinguished Oxonian acquiesced in the proposal, and forthwith prepared his policy for the inauguration of the new college. Its surroundings were the reverse of attractive. Lampeter was then little better than a village, consisting for the most part of thatched cottages with mud walls, distant from all ordinary advantages of civilisation. Such was the Principal's first and last home. However, to compensate for the magnitude of the difficulties that lay before him he soon had the gratification of receiving the assistance as Vice-Principal a young English gentleman who had been strikingly distinguished at Cambridge University. This young man was Dr. Ollivant, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, who then shared to a great extent the trials which the Principal underwent in his early struggles to establish the college on an enduring basis. The first students to apply for admission had merely a rudimentary acquaintance with Latin or Greek in consequence of the dearth of Welsh Grammar Schools, so that the Professors had to act as schoolmasters until the men were fit to appreciate the curriculum of the college, while their mathematical attainments were scarcely equal to that of boys in the higher classes of an elementary school. With such rough material to deal with, the most courageous and sanguine man might well become dispirited, but the Principal stood manfully and proudly to his post to the last. During his life at Lampeter for more than half a century, the college experienced various vicissitudes,

perhaps the happiest of which was the permission by Royal Charter to the Principal to confer the degree of B.D. to members of the college who were duly qualified by examination to receive that honour. After an arduous struggle with the Government to obtain this favour, advantage was taken by Dr. Lewellin's former pupils to have his portrait painted by Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., and to present to him a magnificent silver epergne, richly and elegantly engraved, and bearing a suitable Latin inscription.

Space will not admit of any lengthened retrospect of Dr. Lewellin's life, nor of reference to his association with Lampeter as Vicar, or with St. David's as Dean. He died on November 25, 1878, in his eightieth year.

What would be Dean Lewellin's attitude on the question of affiliating Lampeter with the National University it is impossible to say. It would be highly interesting if a plebiscite of the Clergy and Churchmen in general could be taken on this very important matter. Undoubtedly, it would be an advantage to the students, and to the Church itself, if Lampeter could be brought within the National Educational Movement, the present policy of isolation and detachment must in the end be detrimental to both the Clergy and the Church.

ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.

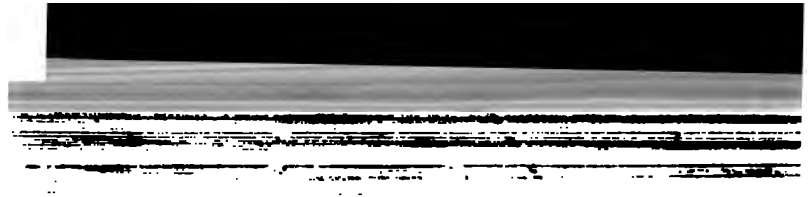
ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.

Born at Halkyn, Flint, August 16, 1817; *educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge; ordained Deacon,* 1842, *Priest,* 1843; *Newcastle Medallist in* 1836; *Fellow at King's College,* 1839; *appointed Select Preacher in the University of Cambridge,* 1854; *Classical Tutor of King's College for eight years; Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew at St. David's College, Lampeter,* 1850—1863; *Rector of Broad Chalke,* 1858—1870; *married Ellen, daughter of Charles Cotesworth, R.N., of Liverpool, in* 1859; *died at Broad Chalke, January* 18, 1870. *His fine collection of Welsh and other books was donated to the Swansea Public Library.*

ROWLAND WILLIAMS was one of the most distinguished Welshmen and Churchmen of the Victorian Era. A man of great intellectual power, a first-class scholar, an ardent educationalist, and blessed with an indomitable will; though he came into serious collision with the authorities of the Church, yet he was in heart and mind a loyal son; what he claimed was perfect freedom in all literary investigations of the Scriptures. For this freedom he fought and suffered, and in the main came out victoriously. His father, Rowland Williams, was Canon of St. Asaph. His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Hugh Wynne Jones, of Treiorwerth, Anglesea, and Prebendary of Penmynydd. He was appointed, at the age of twenty-four, assistant-master at Eton, but on account of failing health was obliged to resign. In 1848, he won the prize essay, value £500, on the comparative merits of Hinduism and Christianity. This essay he subsequently

elaborated, and may be considered his greatest litera production, The essay revealed the superb qualities the author as a historian, metaphysician, scholar a theologian. It evinced profound knowledge of the varic systems of Eastern philosophy, and came to be rec nised by the foremost scholars in Europe as a standa work of reference respecting the philosophy, history, a ethical significance of Hinduism on its religious si He did excellent work at Lampeter, not only was he s cessful in gaining the confidence of a large body of wort men from all parts of the Principality, but he complet remodelled the financial and educational system of th institution. Serious difficulties arose owing to his su posed heterodoxy; the Evangelical party left no sto unturned in order to secure his deposition, and Bish Ollivant actually requested him to resign his chaplain but he declined. His "Essays and Reviews" published 1860, brought him again into prominence. He was cit to appear before the Arches Court of Canterbury December 19, 1861, the trial lasting ten days. It w contended by the Evangelical party that Williams' at tude with regard to inspiration, propitiation, justificati and the latest researches of Biblical criticism was inco sistent with his position as priest of the Anglican Chur Judgment, which was delivered on June 25, 1862, w partly adverse and partly favourable. Three of t indictments Williams admitted—namely, inspirati justification and propitiation, and these were held o to be tried before Judge Stephen Lushington, December 15, 1862. Williams was suspended for period of one year and ordered to pay costs, but appealed in person against the judgment bef the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a on February 8, 1864, the Court reversed that portion

the judgment which was unfavourable to Williams. But shortly afterwards the Convocation, headed by Pusey, condemned Williams unheard, such condemnation being based upon his "Essays and Reviews." The matter, however, was carried to the House of Lords, where the condemnation was declared to be null and void, on the ground, that the Convocation had no jurisdiction in the matter.



EVAN DAVIES, M.A., LL.D.

Born June 26, 1826. Died August 22, 1879.

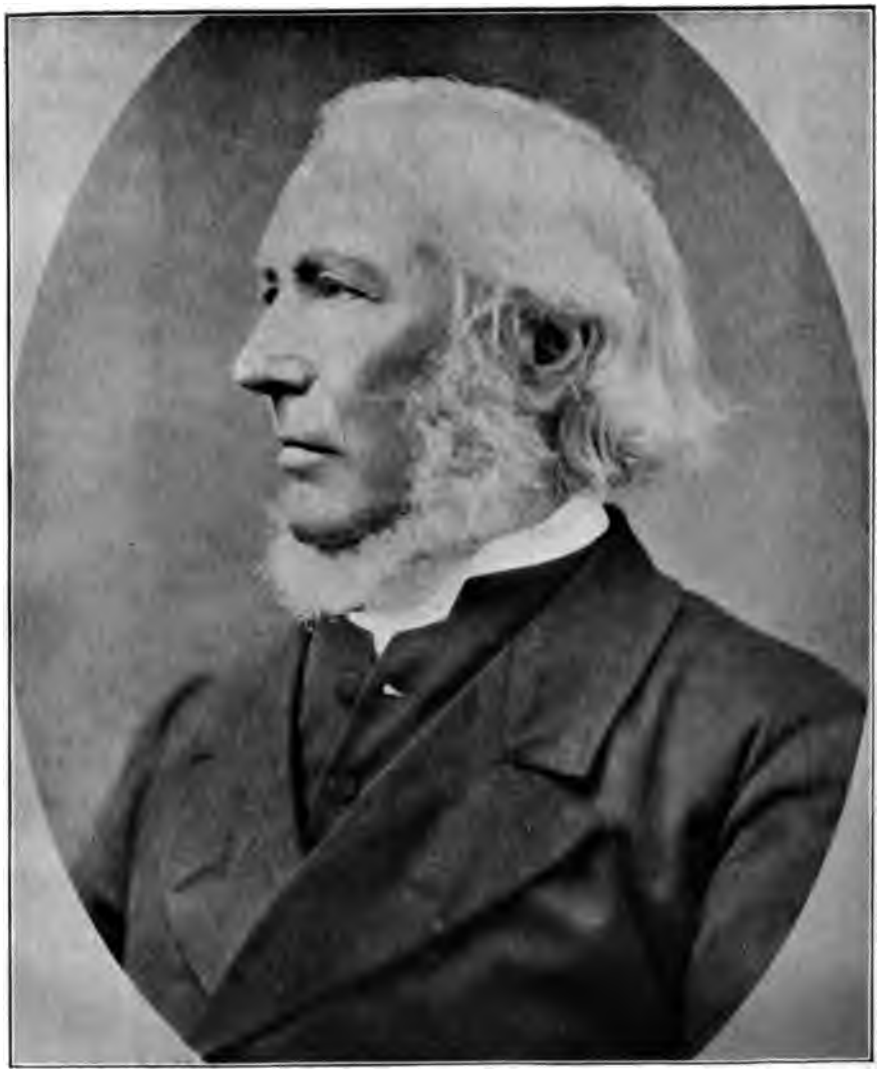
THE son of Timothy Davies, of Llan-y-Crwys, in the county of Carmarthen, and was born at a farm house called "Gelli." At the age of nine he was sent to a day school kept by David Evans in the old Congregational Chapel at Ffaldybrenin, and subsequently became a pupil of the late Dr. William Davies, of Ffroodvale, where he remained until the year 1841. From Ffroodvale he went for twelve months to Dr. Alfred Day's School at Bristol, which he left in the year 1842. During his stay at Ffroodvale, he acquired a thorough scientific acquaintance with the principles of music; this, together with his fine voice, gave promise of future eminence for him in that profession; but he soon became associated with the educational movement of that period, and he decided to devote his life to the work of teaching. For this he was eminently qualified, being a ripe scholar and a keen student of human nature. There are evidences that he had a disposition for the ministry after he became a member of the Church at Ffaldybrenin in September, 1840. An eminent Welshman, Dr. Williams, left an estate which he placed in the hands of trustees. He directed in his will that provision should be made for several exhibitions for suitably-qualified young men devoted to the ministry among Nonconformists. Thus there were bequeathed six bursaries of £40 per annum, each to be held by undergraduates for three years, and £45 when they became graduates. On September 21, 1842, Mr. Davies, then sixteen years of age, applied for one of the exhibitions at Glasgow, and was successful. Here he received his M.A.

degree, and in 1858 the University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. A conference of both Nonconformists and Churchmen was held at Llandovery in 1844, to consider the question of primary education, when it was decided to establish a Normal College for the training of teachers, with the stipulation that it should be unsectarian in character, and supported by voluntary offerings. It was also resolved that the College should be located at Brecon. Dr. Davies, though still under twenty years of age, was appointed Principal, the College being opened in 1845. He proved himself a rigid disciplinarian, requiring the students to be in their class-rooms as early as 6 o'clock in the morning. The College was removed to Swansea in the year 1851. Dr. Davies was called upon to give evidence before Sir John Parkington's Committee in the month of May, 1866. During his examination it was elicited that during the six years of the existence of the College, Dr. Davies had passed 140 pupils, and, with the aid of his committee, had established 120 day schools in Wales, forty-five of which were, in 1866, under Government supervision. So successful was the College that it was resolved to erect a suitable College building, and a considerable sum of money was raised for that purpose, but through unforeseen difficulties with the architect, who was a Bristol man, the project was abandoned, and soon the Normal College ceased to exist as a training college. However, Dr. Davies carried it on as a private grammar school. His fame as a scholar and master, which had now gone far and wide, stood him in good stead, and his school became the admiration of all who appreciated high mental culture. He received no pecuniary aid either from the Government or from the public, and in many instances the remuneration paid by pupils was exceedingly scanty. But, being a patriot and an ardent

educationist, he never complained, and gave the best that was in him to all his pupils, irrespective of the fees which they were able to pay. His reward was the satisfaction of his own conscience and the fact that he had passed through his school some of the best and most useful men that Wales has ever produced, not only in the scholastic line, but in several other walks of life. To him belongs the distinction—second to none—of having contributed to the uplifting of the Cymric nation intellectually and educationally in the days when money was scarce and the value of education was not appreciated as it is to-day; and, above all, before the State had interested itself in the welfare of the Principality. He gave up his school in 1867, and devoted himself to the general principles of jurisprudence. After studying for three years he passed his final examination, and, together with William Henry Michael, formerly a surgeon and subsequently a barrister, founded the firm of Messrs. Hartland, Davies and Hartland, which still carries on business at 7, Rutland Street, Swansea, under the name of Messrs. Hartland, Isaac, Watkins and Lewis, one of the members, Mr. Jones Lewis, having been associated with Dr. Davies in his early days. Dr. Davies left a son, George Sidney Davies, who married Margaret, daughter of Henry Evans, of Crickhowell.

NOTE.

PORTRAITS and biographies of the Rev. Lewis Edwards, D.D., and his distinguished son Principal Thomas Charles Edwards, M.A., D.D. appeared in "Welsh Religious Leaders." The articles on the former were written by Rev. Evan Jones, Carnarvon, and Rev. H. Barrow Williams; the Rev. J. Pulestan Jones, M.A., writing on the latter. However, on account of their pre-eminent position as Welsh Educational Leaders, the Editor has decided to include their portraits in this volume. These two—father and son—are the People's Treasure. They are the ornaments not only of Welsh Methodism, but of the nation.



THE REV. LEWIS EDWARDS, D.D., Bala.

THE REV. THOMAS CHARLES EDWARDS, M.A., D.D.
(First Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth).

Supplied by] *[Spurrell & Son, Carmar*

REV. CHANCELLOR DANIEL SILVAN-EVANS, B.D., D.Litt.

REV. CHANCELLOR DANIEL SILVAN-EVANS, B.D., D.LITT.

RECTOR OF LLANWRIN, 1876; Chancellor of Bangor, 1895; Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, 1897; Chaplain to the Bishop of Bangor, 1899. Born, Y Fron Wilym Uchaf, Llanarth, Cardiganshire, January 11, 1818; son of Silvanus and Sarah Evans; married Margaret, daughter of Walter Walters, Hendre, Cardiganshire. Educated St David's College, Lampeter (Senior Scholar). Ordained Deacon 1848; Priest, 1849, by Bishop Bethell of Bangor; Curate of Llandygwynnin, 1848-52; Llangian, 1852-62; Rector of Llanymawddwy, 1862-76; Canon of Bangor, 1888-91; Prebendary of Bangor, 1891-95; formerly Professor of Welsh, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1875-83; Examiner at St. David's College, Lampeter.

Publications: "Dictionary of the Welsh Language" (conjointly with J. Henry Silvan-Evans, M.A.); "English-Welsh Dictionary," 2 vols., 1858; "Llythyraeth yr Iaith Gymraeg" (Welsh Orthography) 1861; "Blodau Ieuainc" (Verse and Prose), 1843; "Telynegion" (Lyrics), 1846; 2nd ed. 1881; "Ysten Sioned" (Welsh Folk-lore), 1882; 2nd ed. 1894; "Telyn Dyfi" (Sacred Poems), 1898; joint compiler and editor, with the late Bishop Lewis Lloyd (Bangor), of "Emyniadur yr Eglwys Yng Nghymru" (Welsh Hymnal), 1898. Edited "Y Brython"; "Gwarth Gwallter Mechain," 1868; "Gwaith Ieuan Brydydd Hir," 1876; "Celtic Remains," by Lewis Morris, 1878; "The Literature of the Kymry," by Thomas Stephens, 1876; "Archologia Cambrensis"; and a contributor to "*Academy*," "*Athenæum*," "*Bye-gones*," "*Red Dragon*," "*Haul*," "*Geninen*," &c., &c. Edited "Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry" (Cambrian Bibliography), 1869; "Lly fr Gweddi Abercarn," 1876; "Gramadeg y Dr. Gruffydd Roberts, 1883; "Athrawiacth yr Eglwys yn Wirionedd y Beibl," 1883; "Sermons." Died April 10, 1903.

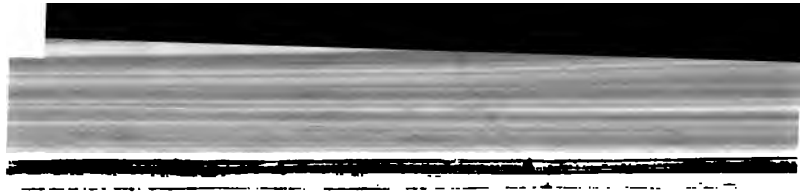
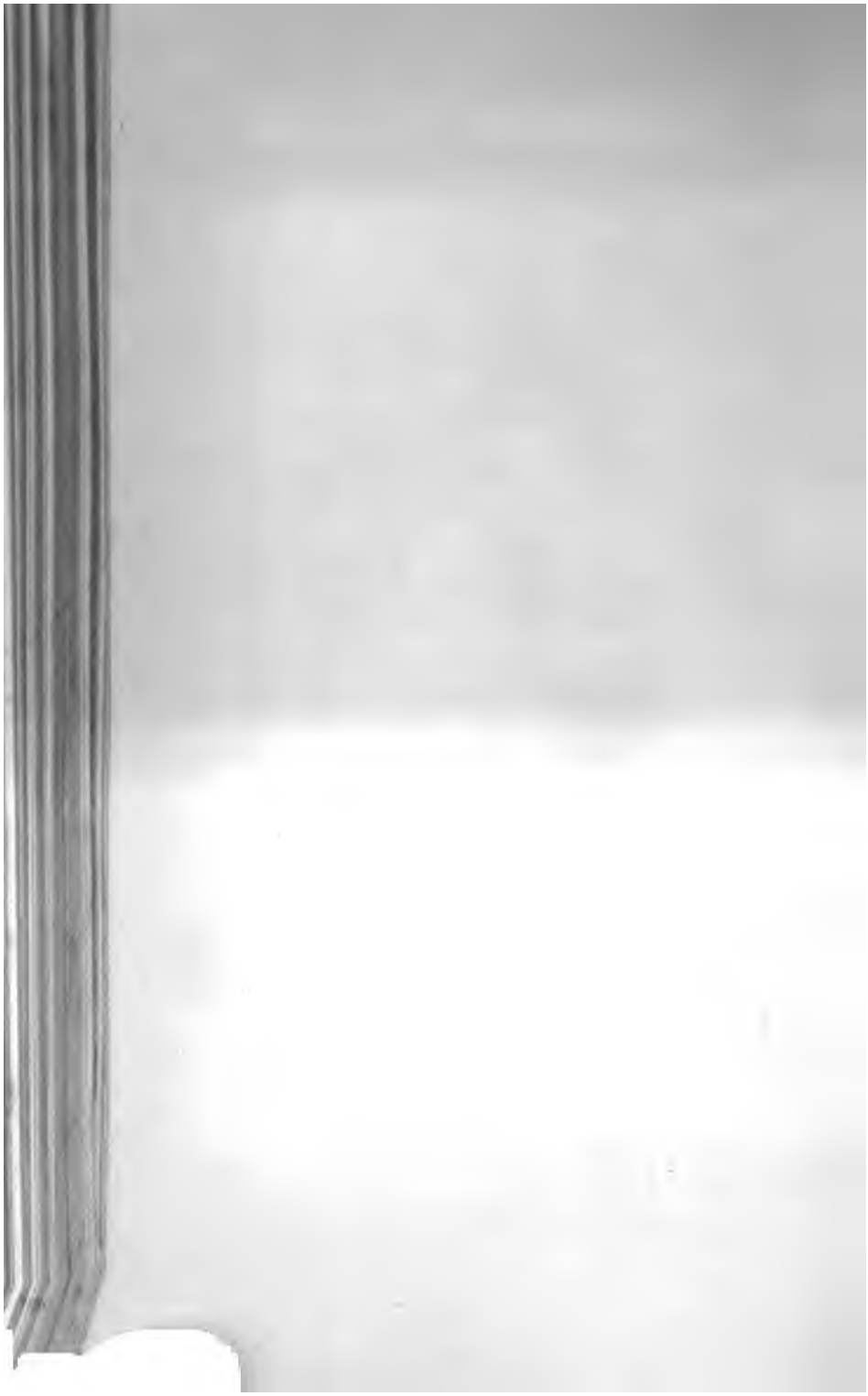


Photo. by] [*James Morgan, Carmar*

REV. W. ROBERTS (Nefydd).

THE REV. W. ROBERTS, LL.D. (NEFYDD.)

He was the son of Robert Roberts, of Llannefydd, Denbighshire; born March 8, 1813. From his youth he manifested a disposition for the ministry. In 1834 he went to a preparatory school at Llansilin, kept by John Williams. In 1835 he went as a missionary to Mold. While there he received an invitation to become pastor of Stanhope Street Church, Liverpool, and was ordained June 25, 1837. During his Liverpool pastorate he married the daughter of the Rev. D. Jones, pastor of Great Crosshall Street Church. In 1845 he accepted an invitation to become the pastor of Salem, Blaenau (Mon.), where he laboured for the rest of his life. Judging by what is left, it cannot be said that he was a great national leader. Indeed, Wales has so many great men, or men that are called great by their countrymen, that it is very difficult to discriminate between them to the satisfaction of the Welsh public. Yet "Nefydd" was a man who greatly influenced the life and thought of Wales at that period. He served for several years as agent for the British and Foreign School Society. He took a deep interest in all educational matters, and between 1864 and 1868 published a periodical called "*Y Bedyddiwr*" (The Baptist). He was a scientific historian and antiquarian, and led a very active life, in recognition of which the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by an American University. He died June 18, 1872.



DAVID DAVIES, M.P. (Llandinam).

DAVID DAVIES, LLANDINAM.

Born, 1818, *at Draintewion Llandinam, Montgomeryshire; married*, 1851, *Miss Margaret Jones, daughter of Mr. Edward Jones, Llanfaircaereinion; Member of Parliament for the Cardigan Boroughs*, 1874—1885; *died*, 1890.

ONE of the solid men of the nation, who rose from poverty to affluence, from obscurity to prominence, entirely through the force of his own character, judgment, and application. The only advantage he received by way of acquiring an elementary education was by spending a brief period in the school that was held in the old parish church, about a century ago; but the two main arteries of his inspiration in early days, were the home and the Sunday School. Throughout his life he was animated by the loftiest nobility of aim. A man of austere virtue, prompt in his decision, just and fair minded. He had the misfortune to lose his father at the age of twenty, when he had to maintain his widowed mother, and eight younger brothers and sisters, but hard work was congenial to him. An idler was as loathsome in his sight as a drunkard. He became a contractor and his success was phenomenal. The Barry Dock, the largest except one in the world, was his greatest work. A bronze statue was erected to his memory at Barry Dock. He was often heard to say that the narrowest pass in the way to wealth is when the first £1,000 is being made. It was his conviction that when that sum had been acquired it was easy for a man of tact and energy to make a fortune. Mr. Davies was a well-known philanthropist. It is stated that in one year his contributions to various causes

amounted to £16,000. There was no system in charity. It was not his policy to institute all sorts objectionable inquiries through paid secretaries a agents, and be guided by them. He was pre-eminen a man of intuition; he acted upon the impulse of heart and mind. It was useless to press him, for attitude was clear and decisive. In his death the ca of higher education in Wales lost a sincere and generous friend. For a period of eleven years represented the Cardigan Boroughs in the House Commons, but it was evident that he was not fitted the noisy arena of modern politics. His integrity such that he could not condescend to employ countless shifts and devices of the professional politici and on some matters--notably the Home Rule Bill of Gladstone—his opinions were at variance with those the majority of his countrymen. His career through disclosed the fact that he was a man of wisdom, generosity, and singular moral elevation.

REV. DUDLEY EVANS.

THE REV. DAVID DUDLEY EVANS.

THE late Rev. David Dudley Evans was born in 1820, in the little village of Cil-fawr in Pembrokeshire. His father was a Churchman, but died some fortnight previous to the birth of his only child, so that young Dudley's education was left entirely to his widowed mother, who was a Baptist; his uncle being in Holy Orders in the Established Church, arranged for the child's christening, but when the day for the ceremony arrived, his mother contrived to hide her boy, hence the idea was abandoned. When sixteen years old, he entered the Baptist Theological College, Haverfordwest, where he gave such promise for the future, that ere he reached twenty was offered the pastorate of the Baptist Chapel in his own village, but declined the offer, and went instead to the Bristol Baptist College where he remained for another five years. He received an invitation to Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, Swansea, which call he again refused, but eventually accepted an unanimous invitation to take the pastorate of York Place, Swansea. He took great interest in education, writing to both Welsh and English papers, visiting different colleges and schools, and addressing the students.

From Swansea he went to take the oversight of one of the largest Baptist Churches in North Wales. He was closely associated with the late Lord Aberdare in promoting the interests of the Early Closing Movement, and never neglected an opportunity of speaking, lecturing and writing in favour of this great reform. From Newtown he went to Dudley in Worcestershire.

One of his chief characteristics was his absolute fearlessness, and when the terrible cholera scourge attacked

Swansea, whole families leaving the town in terr
Dudley Evans journeyed down there and spent days a
nights in visiting stricken houses and deathbeds of ma
of his former friends. Thus he worked for ten days,
though bearing a charmed life, and afterwards w
thanked by medical men for his invaluable servic

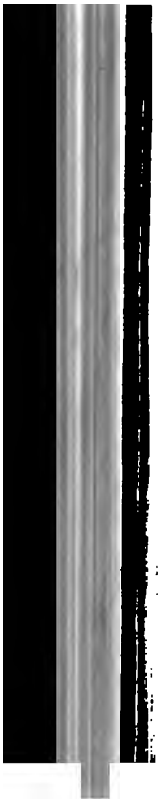
He took great interest in politics, and was frequent
seen on the same platform as Sir Charles Dilke, M
Joseph Chamberlain, Dr. Dale, W. Fuller and oth
leading Birmingham Liberals, and was largely instr
mental in securing the return of H. P. Sheridan, M.
for Dudley. In 1867 he removed to Newport (Mon
becoming pastor of the Stow Hill Baptist Church, a
also undertaking to lecture throughout Wales for t
Birmingham Educational League. He died the followi
year at the early age of 53, after being confined to t
house only ten days, the immediate cause of death bei
blood poisoning. His two sons take a prominent pa
in the political and social life of Newport (Mon.), T. Llo
Evans, and D. Roger Evans, solicitor, who has for ma
years been the indefatigable Hon. Sec. of the Sou
Monmouthshire Liberal Association, and was also Cha
man for seven years consecutively of the Llantarna
District Council.

Photo. by] *[D. Bowen & Son, Haverford*

REV. JAMES PHILLIPS,
Haverfordwest.

REV. JAMES PHILLIPS, HAVERFORDWEST.

BORN March 26, 1847; died November 20, 1907; son of the late James Phillips, Haverfordwest, and a former mayor of the town. Mr. Phillips was educated at the Moravian School and Bristol College, and subsequently undertook the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Little Haven, where he remained for eighteen years. He was connected with nearly all local governing bodies and devoted considerable attention to the question of education. He succeeded Canon Foster as Chairman of the Haverfordwest School Board, and was a member of the County Education Committee. For many years he occupied the position of a Governor of the Grammar School; was Vice-Chairman of Tasker's Managers, and one of the managers of four non-provided schools; was President of the Haverfordwest Liberal Hundred, a member of the Pembrokeshire Liberal Three Hundred, and of the National Liberal Club. He did signal service to the borough and county in the cause of the people. There was not a phase of the education question with which he was not acquainted, and he took the most kindly interest in the welfare of the National Schools. Mr. Phillips led an active life, and was highly respected by men of all shades of political and religious opinions.



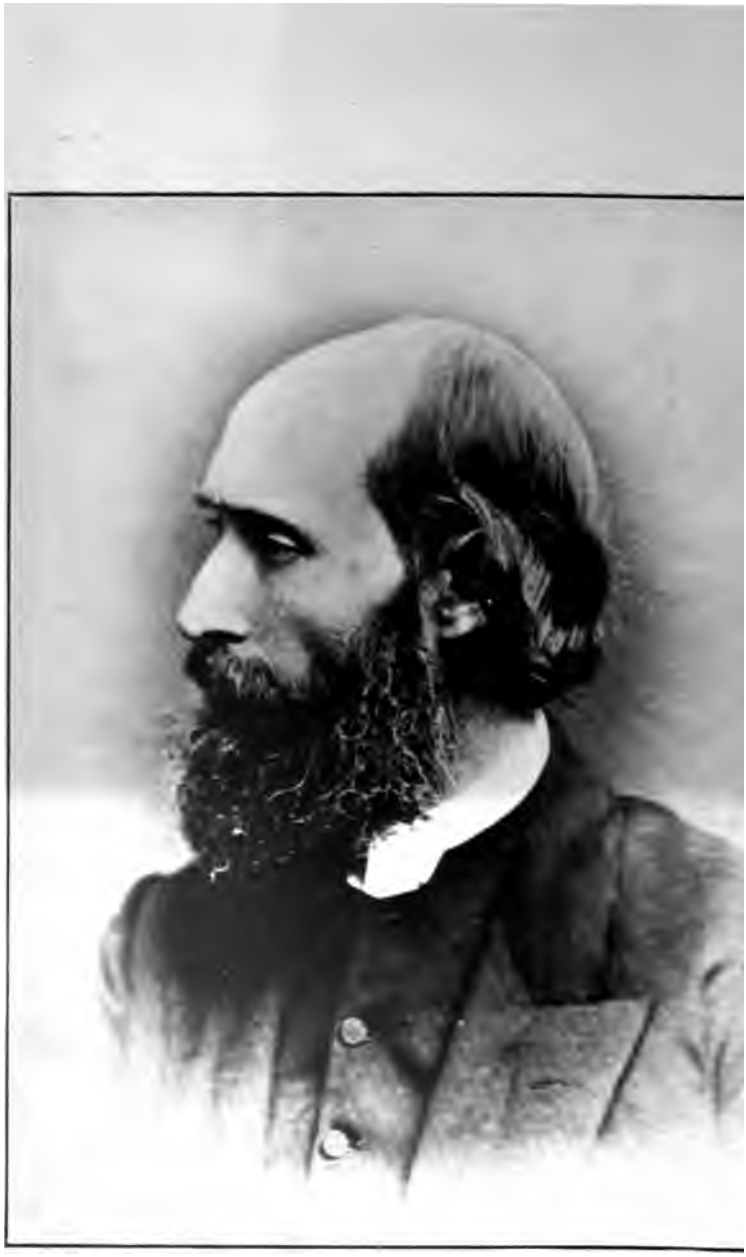
WILLIAM CONWAY.

WILLIAM CONWAY.

Born January 20, 1820. *Died January* 5, 1891.

THE Conway family was associated with what is best, and highest, in the history of the County of Monmouth for a period of nearly one hundred years. One of the most distinguished members of the family was William Conway; a man of unblemished character, stern, steadfast, and uncompromising. During his day and generation he was regarded in the County as the chief standard-bearer in the ranks of Liberalism and Nonconformity; he was one of the best informed, and most reliable politicians of the upper middle class which Monmouthshire ever produced. Under his leadership the political complexion of the district was entirely changed, and Mr. Warmington was returned to Parliament for the Western Division in 1885 with one of the largest majorities given to any individual member of the House of Commons. Mr. Conway was a member of the Pontypool Local Board, and one of the promoters, and the first Chairman of the Trevethin School Board; member of the Pontypool Board of Guardians; member of the Monmouthshire County Council (of which, upon its formation, he was appointed Provisional Chairman); and at the time of his death was Chairman of the Llanfrechfa Lower School Board. Mr. Conway was one of the prime movers in establishing the British School which was commenced, in the year 1843, in a room at Pontnewynydd. For thirty years the school was carried on as a purely voluntary school, the principal supporters objecting to any Government aid. Mr. Conway shared this objection, and many were the

means adopted to carry on the School. He, however,
to realise that the popular will was pointing in the
tion of a system of Government education, and wa
of the first to take steps for placing the School
efficient basis. He was urged to stand as a
mentary candidate, but his plea was that he had n
means.

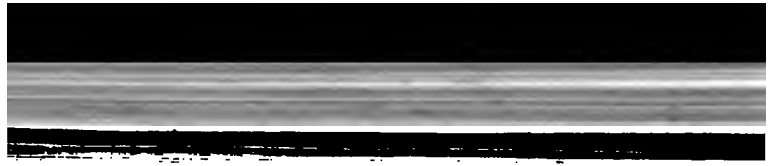


REV. WILLIAM THOMAS, M.A.
(Gwilym Marles.)

REV. WILLIAM THOMAS, M.A.

(GWILYM MARLES).

BORN at Brechfa, Carmarthenshire, in 1834; educated at Ffrwdfal, Carmarthen College and University of Glasgow; took charge of Llwynrhydowen and Bwlchyfadfa in 1860, and in the same year opened a Grammar School at Llandyssul; came to the front as a political leader in 1868; became a convert to Unitarianism; the expulsion of the congregation and minister taking place in 1876; a new structure was erected in 1877, the old chapel being restored to the congregation in 1879; died December 11, 1879. Schoolmaster, political reformer, and poet of the imaginative type in whom flamed the pure spirit of true poetry. Theologically out of touch with the people, and in advance of his own sect, among whom he encountered many an interruptive Peter, yet a personality of general interest, not only on account of his work in prose and verse, but through his life, which exhibited the best and highest; thoroughly devout in thought, the tone of his mind being broad and tender. He was one of the pioneers who sought to give direction to the understanding of his age, at a period when there was not the same hospitality to those progressive ideas which advancing knowledge has made inevitable. A man earnest and brave, and gifted with many talents.



REV. W. JAMES, B.A., J.P.
Llandyssul.

REV. W. JAMES, B.A., J.P., LLANDYSSUL.

BORN April 13, 1848; son of John and Elizabeth James of Camnant Fach, the father being among the farmers who were evicted after the election of 1868, when Mr. Evan Matthew Richards was returned to Parliament. He was educated at Carmarthen College, and Manchester New College, London, where he came under the influence of James Martineau and John James Tayler. He spent a year in Edinburgh, 1869-70, and took his B.A. at the London University in 1871. For a brief period he was assistant to the Rev. George Heaviside, of Coventry, who kept a school, and subsequently became assistant to his old master at Rhydawen Grammar School. In 1873 he removed to Aberdare to take the oversight of the Unitarian Church, where he remained for seven years. On September 10, 1877, he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of Owen Evans, of Cefncoed. He resigned his Aberdare charge October 5, 1879, and became pastor of the churches at Bwlch, Llwyn, and the Graig, Llandyssul. In 1888 he finally severed his connection as pastor of these churches, also as headmaster of the Grammar School. He filled many important positions; was a member of the Llandyssul Board School, member of the County Governing Body, chairman of the Llandyssul Liberal Association, vice-chairman of the Liberal Association for the county, J.P., editor of the "*Ymofynydd*," 1903-7, secretary of the Unitarian Association for South Wales, 1894—1907. He was a keen politician, and as such, was a man of great power in the district and county. His services were in constant demand as a public speaker, and he was generally regarded as a man of sound judgment. He died October 26, 1907.

SIR LEWIS MORRIS, KT.

SIR LEWIS MORRIS.

Born January 23, 1883. Died November 12, 1907.

SON of the late Lewis Edward Williams Morris, Penbryn, Carmarthenshire, and Sophia, daughter of the late John Hughes, Carmarthen. He was educated at Cowbridge and Sherborne Schools; Jesus College. Oxford (M.A). 1st Class Moderations, 1853; 1st Class Lit. Hum. 1855; Chancellor's Prizeman for English Essay, 1858. His poetic instinct manifested itself at a very early age. When only fifteen he wrote a prize poem on Pompeii, which was not wholly without merit; but while at Oxford he decided to devote himself to the exclusive study of the law, and practised chiefly as a Conveyancing Counsel, 1861—1881, but he became conscious of the fact that there was no distinction for him in that profession, and reverted, as a last resource, to verse, with the result that he became one of the most eminent men of letters. Among his publications are the following: "Songs of Two Worlds," 1872-74-75; "The Epic of Hades," 1876-77; "Gwen," a Drama in Monologue, 1879; "The Ode of Life," 1880; "Songs Unsung," 1883; "Gycia," a Drama, 1886; "Songs of Britain," 1887; "A Vision of Saints," 1890; "Songs Without Notes," 1894; "Idylls and Lyrics," 1896; "Harvest Tide," 1901; "The New Rambler," 1906.

He was an Hon. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, and was knighted in 1895. Stood as Liberal candidate for Pembroke Boroughs in 1886, and also for the Carmarthen Boroughs in 1892, but retired before the poll; at one time Deputy-Chancellor of the University of Wales and Vice-President of the University College, Aberystwyth. He was one of the pioneers of the Welsh system of University and Secondary Education. Sir Lewis Morris was

a patriot and a poet of superb gifts; his literary
ductions possessing high and enduring qualities.
virtue of his personal character, transparent hon
attainments, and his excellent work educationally
Wales, he will command a leading place among the di
guished Welshmen of this and succeeding generations

REV. EVAN JONES, D.D., Carnarvon.

THE REV. EVAN JONES, CARNARVON.

BORN in a small farm called Esgir Goch, in the parish of Pennal, in the county of Merioneth, October 27, 1836. In 1859 he entered the ministry of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and spent four years at Bala College, under the tuition of Dr. Lewis Edwards and Dr. John Parry. At the end of the four years in 1867, he accepted the call of the churches at Corris, Aberllefenny, Top Corris, and Esgir Geiliog, where he remained four years and a half. In 1872, he removed to take charge of the church at Dyffryn, in the same county—the old church of the Rev. Richard Humphreys and the Rev. Edward Morgan. In 1875, he accepted the call of Moriah Carnarvon, the largest church belonging to the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, and became its first Pastor.

During his ministry he has filled almost every office of honour in the body to which he belongs, being Secretary to the General Assembly in 1889-90, and Moderator in 1898. He was the prime mover in the establishment of the C. M. Bookroom, which was founded in 1891, and proved itself an unqualified success. He was Editor of "*Y Golenad*," the weekly organ of the Connexion, during 1872-6, and gave it a fair start in life. When the "*Genedl*" newspaper was established he was one of its chief founders, and for years was a regular contributor to its columns, especially its leader writer. During 1899-90 he edited the "*Troethodydd*," and still continues General Editor of the Connexion. He also took a leading part in collecting the Century Fund of £100,000.

From his early youth he has ungrudgingly devoted his life on the platform, in the pulpit, and through the Press

to the advancement of those great movements—te
ance, education, and especially religious liberty
equality—which have done so much to elevate the
tion of Wales. The strength of his personality
revealed in his manly attitude at the historic Cardif
vention. There was no sycophantic pandering to
exigencies, and no man had a better right to be hear
he spoke as one having authority, an authority based
conviction, upon the many sidedness of his knowledg
upon his persistent effort, extending over many yea
the realization of the nation's hope. By his characte
preaching, and his political services, he has added t
prestige of the denomination of which he is so
tinguished an ornament.

From a Portrait] *[Supplied by Tuesney & Son*

THE RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.
President of the Board of Trade.

THE RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD-GEORGE, M.P.

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

BORN at Manchester, 1863: son of the late William George, master of Hope Street Unitarian Schools, Liverpool; married Margaret, daughter of Richard Owen, of Mynyddednyfed, Criccieth, in the year 1888. He was educated at Llanystymdwy Church School; is M.P. for the Carnarvon Boroughs, which he has represented since 1890. Author of the Patents Bill and Merchants Shipping Bill. A distinguished Welshman of great ability. By his settlement of the railway dispute he has notably enhanced his own reputation and political prospects. Made an Honorary Freeman of the City of Cardiff, February, 1908. (See Introduction).

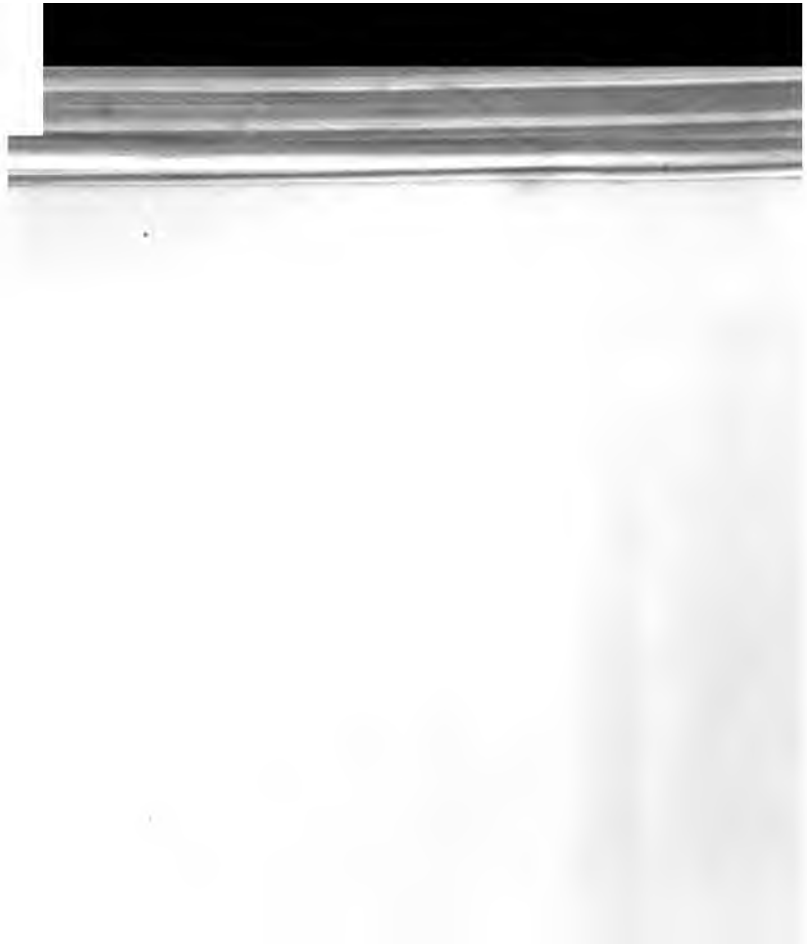


Photo. by] *[Metropole Studio, Cardiff.*

JOHN CORY, J.P., D.L. (Cardiff).

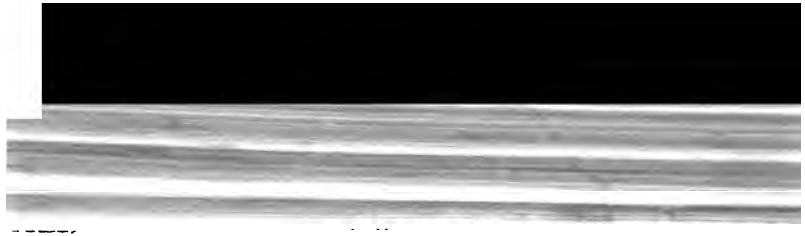
JOHN CORY, J.P., D.L.

LORD of the Manor of Duffryn, and patron of the living of St. Nicholas; Chairman of the Board of Directors of Cory Bros. and Co., Ltd., colliery proprietors; Vice-Chairman of Barry Docks and Railway (of which he was one of the promoters); born March 28, 1828; married, 1854, Anna Maria, daughter of late John Beynon, of Newport, County Monmouth. A well-known philanthropist; has for many years been extensively associated with numerous forms of educational, charitable, and evangelistic enterprise; President of the Newport Liberal Association; presented Memorial Hall in Cardiff to united temperance societies; donor and founder of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Rest, Cardiff; President of British and Foreign Sailors' Society; and is at present laying out part of his estate on Garden City lines.

SIR WILLIAM THOMAS LEWIS, BART. K.C.V.O.
(Donor of conditional £1,000 towards establishing a Chair of Mining
University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardi

SIR WILLIAM THOMAS LEWIS, BART., K.C.V.O.

FIRST BARONET (cr. 1896); K.B. 1885; J.P. Counties of Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brecon and Pembroke; D.L. Glamorgan; member of Council of Civil Engineers; F.G.S.; Past President South Wales Institute of Engineers; Past President of the Mining Association of Great Britain; Past President of the Institute of Mining Engineers and Vice-President of the Iron and Steel Institute; Vice-President of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers; Chairman of the Monmouth and South Wales Board of Examination for Mining Certificates; born, Merthyr Tydvil, 1837; son of T. W. Lewis, Abercanaid House, Merthyr Tydvil; married Anne (d.1902), daughter of William Rees, Colliery Proprietor, Lletty Shenken, Aberdare. Is a large employer of labour in connection with collieries and manufactories in South Wales; Founder and Chairman of the Sliding Scale and also of the Monmouthshire and South Wales Miners' Provident Fund; served for many years as a member of the Royal Commission on Coal Mines, Royal Commission on Royalties, Royal Commission on Labour, the Royal Commission on the action of coal dust in mines; member of the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies; member of the Royal Commission on Trades Disputes; Sheriff of Breconshire, 1882; contested Merthyr Tydvil in the Conservative interest in 1880; member Tariff Commission, 1904; K.C.V.O. 1907; a patriotic Welshman, and has taken deep interest in all national movements; promised the sum of one thousand pounds conditionally towards establishing a Mining Chair in the University College of South Wales, an important initial step in furthering the interest of scientific research in the Principality.



SIR JOHN T. DILLWYN LLEWELYN, BART. (Penllergaer).

SIR JOHN TALBOT DILLWYN LLEWELYN, BART.

By the REV. J. VYRNWY MORGAN, D.D.

BORN May 26, 1836; married May 7, 1861, Caroline Julia, eldest daughter of the late Sir Michael Hicks Beach, 8th Baronet, M.P.; is a J.P. and D.L.; was High Sheriff for Glamorgan 1878. M.P. for Swansea, 1895—1900; Mayor of Swansea, 1891. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford (M.A.), was created a baronet March 20, 1890; member of the Council of the University of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Has done noble work in connection with the Miners' Provident Fund, and always taken a deep interest in movements affecting the educational welfare of the Principality. Long before the Education Act of 1870 the Penllergaer family had maintained elementary schools for boys and girls, nor when the responsibility for teaching the children had passed into other hands did they cease to take a deep interest in the new schools, and Sir John still acts as one of the Managers of the School Group for Swansea, appointed by the Glamorgan County Council.

Later on, when the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, was passed, Sir John Dillwyn Llewelyn acted with the late Lord Swansea (then Sir H. H. Vivian), Alderman Aaron Davies, Mr. Arthur Williams, M.P., and Archdeacon Bruce on the Joint Education Committee, and was with them jointly responsible for the various schemes under which the Intermediate Education of the County of Glamorgan is now conducted in the various schools.

Sir John is a governor of the Gowerton Intermediate School, and also a trustee of the Welsh Collegiate Institution at Llandovery, better known as Llandovery College, at both of which places he is the donor of Scholarships.

In the realm of Higher Education, Sir John ha substantial subscriber to the funds of Cardiff Col also of St. David's, Lampeter. He possesses a grasp of the political and social problems of the is both a naturalist and archæologist. He stand the esteem of the people as a broad-minded man, ideal landlord, Nonconformists never experienc difficulty in obtaining sites for chapels and scho the charges made being purely nominal. In reli is a Protestant and Churchman, in politics a Conse

Lineage.—Towards the close of the 17th centu of the descendants of Jeffreys Dillwyn, of L adopted the Welsh custom of taking the surn Jeffreys, and about the year 1699 William Dillw grated from Breconshire with his friend, Governor Philadelphia, and his son John married the daugh heiress of George Painter, of Haverford in Pennsy and formerly of Broomhill in the parish of Dale, Pembroke; had a son, William Dillwyn, of Lodge, Walthamstowe, Essex, married, year 1777, daughter and heiress of Lewis Weston, of High the same County, and died September, 1824, a leaving a son and successor, Lewis Weston Dill Burrough Lodge, Swansea, and Sketty Hall, Glam F.R.S., and D.L., High Sheriff, 1818, and M Glamorgan, 1832; born August 21, 1778; married 1807, Mary, daughter of John Llewelyn, of Pen and Ynys-y-gerwn, Glamorgan, and by her (wh 1865) had surviving issue:

1. John, of Penllegaer, who assumed the add surname of Llewelyn, and inherited the Penl estates direct from his grandfather.

2. Lewis Llewelyn, of Hendrefoilan, Glamorgan and D.L., Lieut.-Col. Commander 3rd Glamorgan

M.P. for Swansea, 1855-92, born May 19, 1814; married August 16, 1838, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Thomas de la Beche, C.B., and died June 19, 1892, leaving issue by her (who died 1866):

1. Fanny Llewelyn; married, 1836, Matthew Moggridge, of Woodfield, County Monmouth, J.P., and died August 7, 1894. He died 1882.

2. Mary, married 1857, Rev. Montague Earle Welby, M.A., Rector of Uppington, Stamford; Lewis Weston Dillwyn, died 1855, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John Dillwyn Llewelyn, of Penllergaer, F.R.S., J.P. and D.L.; married June 10, 1833, Emma Thomasina, daughter of Thomas Mansel Talbot, of Margam Abbey and Penrice Castle, Glamorgan. He died August 24, 1882, and had issue:

1. John Talbot (Sir).

1. Theresa Mary; married June 29, 1858, Nevil Mervin Story Maskelyne, of Basset Downs, Wilts, M.P.

2. Emma Charlotte, married Henry Beynon Crichton, who died 1889.

3. Eleanor Amy, died 1887. 4. Lucy Catharine.

Creation, March 20, 1890.

ALDERMAN E. H. DAVIES, J.P., PENTRE.

ALDERMAN E. H. DAVIES, J.P., PENTRE.

A PATRIOTIC, unostentatious Welshman, the facts and features of whose life entitle him to a place among the living leaders of education and political progress in the Principality of Wales. A staunch Nonconformist and a robust Liberal, yet standing high in the esteem and affection of the general public. A man of keen and broad human sympathies, who by his active beneficence and his devotion to the welfare of the people has rendered his county and denomination loyal, and dutiful service. No public servant has paid greater attention to the work of the County Council, and especially that aspect of it which has to do with selecting sites for public schools. Such is the confidence reposed in his judgment that his recommendations have never been set aside or even disputed. Some men are greater, others less, than their actions. Mr. Davies may be placed in the former category, and yet, when judged in the light of the many public duties which have from time to time devolved upon him, and the life of usefulness and activity which he has led, he occupies a conspicuous place on the bead-roll of those Welshmen who have rendered their generation good and lasting service. He has thoroughly identified himself with the great current of these past thirty-three years, which have been so remarkable for the growth of popular freedom and educational progress.

Born at Nanternis, New Quay, June 12, 1847, the son of Mr. John Davies, clerk of the parish and village schoolmaster. His mother was the daughter of Mr. J. Davies, Caerwen Farm. Early in life he settled down in the Rhondda Valley and took great interest in all public

movements, and was chiefly instrumental in founding Sunday Schools at Treorky, Pentre, Ton, and Cwm Park. In 1874 Mr. Davies became member of the Rhondda Burial Board and was subsequently chairman, a position which he still retains. In April, 1875, he was appointed a Poor Law Guardian and a Chairman of the Assessment Committee and was able to render valuable assistance in procuring land for the erection of Cottage Homes at Llantwit, and Llwynpia. In January, 1878, the Privy Council on Education directed that a ratepayers' meeting should be convened to decide upon the formation of a School Board. Mr. Davies was deputed to ascertain the number of children in each locality, and the accommodation required. A strong feeling prevailed in favour of meeting the requirements by voluntary efforts, but Mr. Davies and his followers strongly supported a School Board, and a motion to that effect was carried, the first election taking place October 28, 1878, and while on the Board he proved himself to be a very useful member. During this year Mr. Davies married Miss Annie, the daughter of Mr. T. Jones, estate agent, Dany-Graig, Pontypridd. His services were now in demand outside his own district and on June 29,1893, he was elected Chairman of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, for the ensuing year, and he showed his practical interest in the educational welfare of the students by arranging a series of Welsh lectures for their benefit and which cost him over £60. In 1894 he was made a County Magistrate, an appointment which gave universal satisfaction. The following year—1895 he was appointed one of the Governors of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. In October, 1896, he became treasurer and trustee of the Welsh Congregational Forward Movement, to which he contributed 100 guineas towards the £20,000 proposed to be raised to assist weak

churches in rural districts. As president of the Rhondda Cymmrodorion Society he, with the Secretary Mr. Tom Davies, succeeded in obtaining the services of Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, Justice Kennedy, Justice Darling, Sir Isambard Owen, Sir John Rhys of Oxford, General Buller and the late Judge Gwilym Williams to deliver addresses for the benefit of the locality during the winter months. During his year of office as chairman of the Ystrad District Council Overseers, Mr. Davies rendered signal service in connection with the new valuation of the Union decided upon by the Assessment Committee, his report being printed in full for future reference. In 1898 he was elected a member of the County Council; was also appointed by the Council Chairman of the County Rate Assessment Committee, member of the Finance, the Sanitary, and the Technical Instruction Committee, and Governor of the County Intermediate School at Porth. In the same year he was deputed one of two from the whole of Wales to give evidence before the Royal Commissioners on Basis of Local Taxation. His suggestions were incorporated in their report, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chairman of the Commissioners, paid a high tribute to the character and value of his evidence. In 1899 Mr. Davies was appointed president, for that year, of the Bala-Bangor College Executive Committee, and in October, 1901, he succeeded the late Alderman Thomas Williams as treasurer to the Brecon Memorial College and the Welsh Congregational Union. In September, 1903, he was chosen member of the Education Committee for the County of Glamorgan, also member of the Sub-finance and Building Committee, and on May 16, 1904, Chairman of the School Building Committee. The Welsh Congregational Union of England and Wales honoured itself by electing Mr. Davies one of the managers of the Pastor's Retiring Fund. Through his

personal influence several valuable legacies have been secured to further the educational interests of the students at the Brecon Memorial College, and in connection with the Missionary Exhibition held at the Town Hall, Pontypridd, March 21, 31, 1906, he acted as treasurer, and was instrumental in obtaining from friends and churches the sum of £708 for the funds.

He has issue, four sons and one daughter—Ivor J. Davies, M.B., B.S. Student at St. Bartholomew's Hospital; Trevor B. Davies, Student at the University College Hospital, who obtained his B.Sc. in Nov., 1906, with first class honours in Anatomy, and a gold medal; Edward H. Davies, Pentre; William Brynmor Davies, Pentre; daughter, Maude M. Davies.

ALDERMAN JOHN DANIEL, J.P.

ALDERMAN JOHN DANIEL, J.P., ABERSYCHAN.

A FRIEND and *protégé* of William Conway; a man of character, and a striking personality. Born in 1832, at Cefn-y-Crib, near Pontypool; the son of Rev. Herbert Daniel, who was pastor of Mount Pleasant Church, Pontypool. His mother was Ruth Daniel. His first step in public life was his election as member of the Abersychan Local Board. In 1873 he was elected as one of the first members of the School Board and, with the exception of three years, he retained his seat during the whole existence of the Board. He was elected as member of the first County Council, and was appointed to represent the Council on the Joint Education Committee which met at Shrewsbury under the Chairmanship of Dr. Isambard Owen; also took an active part in framing the County Intermediate Scheme; was appointed representative for the County of Monmouth for the Welsh Central Board; was elected by the Board as member of the Executive, a position which he still holds. In connection with the West Monmouth School—a section of Jones' Endowed School—Mr. Daniel has taken a very prominent part. The first meeting to further the scheme was held at Newport and, notwithstanding the effort made by the Newport friends, Mr. Daniel was chiefly instrumental in securing the School for Pontypool, of which he has been the Chairman since its foundation. The building cost about £30,000; the site—covering about six acres of ground—was given by Mr. J. C. Hanbury. Mr. Daniel has become, through force of character and his services for the cause of Education and political reform, one of the most influential factors

in the life of the County. Mr. Daniel is a County Al man, Vice-Chairman of the Education Committee, Chairman of the Eastern Valley Group of Schools. Daniel has been twice married, first to Miss Mary Phi of Shropshire, his second wife being Miss Glanville, Abersychan. He has four sons living—George Daniel Rogerstone; Arthur Daniel, Troedyrhiw; Edwin C. Da Pontypool; Sydney T. Daniel, Abersychan. His daug married F. A. Smith, Ty-Bryn, Abersychan, secretar Messrs. Partridge and Jones.

REV. W. MORRIS, D.D., F.R.G.S.

REV. W. MORRIS. D.D., TREORKY.

Born at Treboeth, Swansea, September 12, 1843; *educated at the Baptist College, Pontypool; ordained to the Ministry,* 1869; *Pastor of Noddfa Baptist Church, Treorky, since* 1869; *Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society since* 1887; *received degree of D.D.,* 1902, *from Bucknell University, Pa.*

THE subject of this sketch takes high rank among the prominent Welshmen of this generation, not only as pastor and preacher, but as a political thinker and educationalist.

Through conversions, by letter and restoration, he has received not less than 4,000 people into church membership, has been the means of establishing several new churches in the neighbourhood, of building a new chapel at the cost of £6,000 with a seating capacity of 1,500 people. In his own denomination Dr. Morris has been a leading personality. He was secretary of the Baptist Union of Wales for nineteen years; Vice-president in 1899; President in 1900; secretary of Ministers' Provident Society for nineteen years; is a member of the Baptist Missionary Society Committee of Great Britain and Ireland; President of the Baptist Missionary Council for Wales; Chairman of the Glamorgan Baptists' Council; Vice-president of Welsh Baptists' Home Missionary Society; and is ex-president of the Glamorgan Baptist Association. He is a Welsh author of repute, and among his literary productions are the following :—

Rev. William Morris, D.D., Treorky. (1) "Pwlpud Noddfa"—vol. of Sermons. (2) Commentary on James

and Titus. (3) "Pwlpud y Plant." (4) "Oriel y Plant." (5) Sermons on Baptism. (6) "Ein Hegwyddorion Gwahaniaethol." (7) "Cynllun Addysg i'r Vsgol Sul." (8) "Awgrymau i Athrawon ac Athrawesau." (9) "Anerchiad ar Iforiaeth"—20,000 copies printed and distributed. (10) "Crefydd yn nghyfnod Diwylliant y Bywyd Cymreig"—Baptist Union Chair. (11) "Adroddiad y Pwyllgor"—annually for the Baptist Union of Wales from 1879 to 1898. (12) "Jubili Cymanfa Morganwg," 1883. (13) Editor and contributor to "*Y Flenestr*" (monthly); "*Herald Cenadol*" (monthly); "*Herald Noddfa*" (monthly); and "*Bedyddiwr Cymreig*" (weekly). All published at Treorky. Author of Biographical Sketches of Dr. E. Roberts, Pontypridd; Evan Thomas, Newport; Lewis Jones, Treherbert; Myfyr Emlyn, Glanaraeth; Rufus John Jones, Blaenllechau; Ben Bowen, &c.

He was manager and correspondence secretary to the British School at Treorky from 1869 to 1878, spending hours at committee meetings debating and devising the best means to secure funds to maintain the staff and to meet liabilities. He was elected member of the first Rhondda School Board in 1878, and every subsequent three years until its extinction in 1903. For a quarter of a century he was a member, for nine years he was vice-chairman, and for four years the chairman. For many years he was governor and chairman of the Rhondda Intermediate School. Dr. Morris was chiefly instrumental in establishing the first Higher Grade School in Wales, located at Ystrad; has been for years a governor and member of the Council of the University College, Cardiff, and has acted in the capacity of secretary for the Baptist College at Cardiff. In addition to these important offices, Dr. Morris has been vice-chairman of Federation of

School Boards for Wales: a member of Association of School Boards for England and Wales: member of the Pontypridd Board of Guardians for six years: president of the Philanthropic Order of Ivorites for Wales; ex-chairman of Governors of Rhondda Intermediate School. In the year 1884 Dr. Morris presented to the Ystradyfodwg School Board a scheme of moral and religious instruction which has since been adopted in many other parts of the country, and accepted by leading educationalists as a wise and satisfactory solution of sectarian and denominational difficulty. The scheme met with strong opposition, but Dr. Morris carried his point by a majority. It was in operation for a period of 18 years—from 1884 to the extinction of the Board in 1903. The scheme was highly successful—even Jews, Catholics, Agnostics were perfectly satisfied. So were the Anglican clergy. Canon Lewis, who was one of the examiners, expressed his great gratification at the result of the Boards' syllabus of religious instruction. The provisions of the scheme are as follows:—

(1) It is to be distinctly observed by the teachers that in all the moral and religious teachings and exercises the provisions of the Education Act, 1870, in Sections VII. and XIV. are to be strictly complied with, both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt is to be made in any way to attach children to any particular denomination.

(2) In all cases where children are withdrawn from the moral and religious teaching by parents or guardians, suitable and adequate arrangements shall be made for their instruction in secular subjects.

(3) The head teachers only will conduct religious exercises where practicable. They will also arrange that the assistants shall, in order of seniority, take share in

the conducting of the exercises, and in the teaching of junior sections, and will arrange at their discretion for the teachers not so engaged to be present, provided always that all the members of the teaching staff other than pupil teachers, be engaged in or be present at the religious teaching, except such as may be needed for the care of the children withdrawn from the lessons. In all cases the head teachers will feel that the responsibility of the whole rests with them and, as a rule, they should divide their attention equally amongst the various sections of the school.

(4) During religious observance, and moral and scriptural instruction, no secular work of any kind shall be conducted, except as provided in the following sentence :—

"Any parent may object to his or her child being present during the time of religious teaching or religious observance, and any children withdrawn from such teaching or observance shall receive instruction in secular subjects in a separate room by an assistant teacher."

(5) The first thirty minutes each morning shall be devoted to religious instruction in accordance with the syllabus appended hereto.

(6) In order that the instruction may be systematic, regular and thorough, it shall be the duty of the head teacher, at the beginning of the school year, to prepare a syllabus of the work to be covered during each of the three terms of the school year, ending respectively at Christmas, Easter and Midsummer, and to enter the work of each class in the Record Book, in the same manner and at the same time as that of the other subjects.

(7) At the end of each term the head teacher shall examine each class in the work of the period, and make

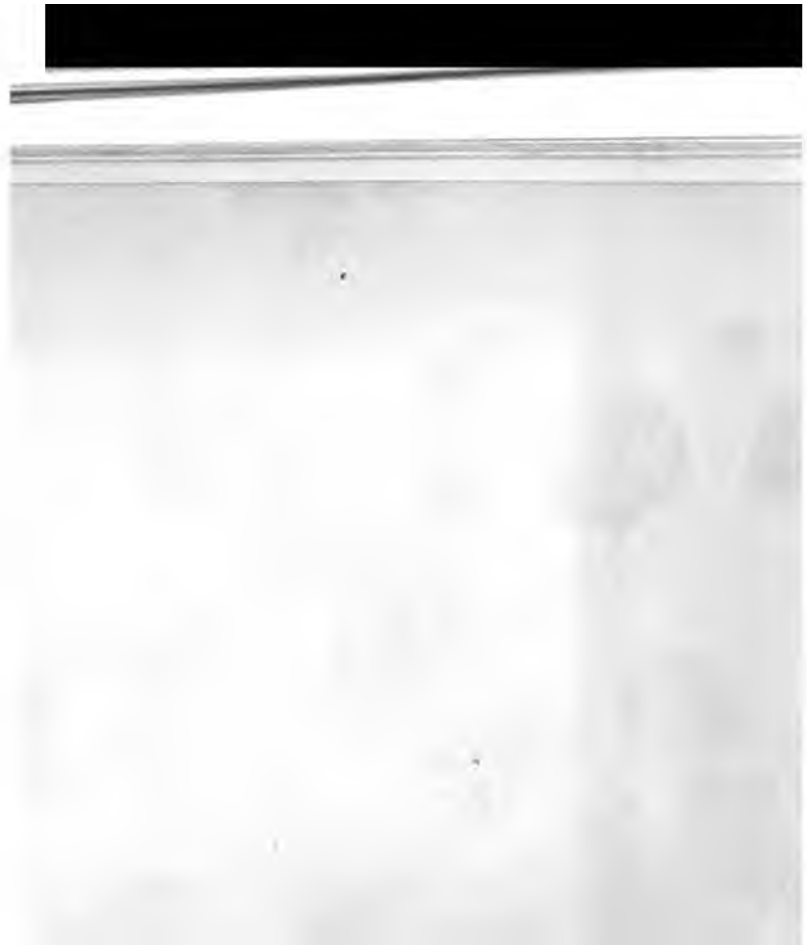
a written report in the Record Book of the class. The clerk shall report periodically to the Committee all cases where this is not satisfactorily done.

(8) The head teachers shall, at the end of each term, send copies of such reports to the office for inspection by the Committee.

(9) The syllabus for each week might be divided as follows :—

Monday	Moral Lesson.
Tuesday	Old Testament.
Wednesday	New Testament.
Thursday	Chants and Hymns.
Friday	Memory Work.

Dr. Morris gave important evidence before the Church Commission, bearing upon the work of Nonconformists in connection with education in the Rhondda Valley. He expressed his disagreement with the esteemed Vicar of Porth, the Rev. W. Thomas, regarding the Welsh and their language. He also claimed that the Nonconformists presented their schools without reserve or compensation to the School Board, thus giving the ratepayers the benefit of their toil and sacrifice, whereas the National Schools, who were indebted to the National Exchequer for extensive grants, preserved the schools for the Church of England, which are now being solely used by them.



LORD GLANTAWE.

LORD GLANTAWE.

THE career of Lord Glantawe has very aptly been described as a romance of industry. He is the architect of his own fortune, and is a living example of what can be achieved by perseverance—which he adopted as his motto —and indomitable energy.

Born at Clydach, South Wales, in 1835, Lord Glantawe began serious work at the age of fifteen as a tinworker. He laid the foundation of his future success by his perseverance in acquiring a practical knowledge of the industry in which he was employed. His was a brain anxious to acquire knowledge, and, even at that age, he showed great ambition. He gave a great deal of attention to the Friendly Society movement, was a studious member of the local literary classes, always endeavouring to improve the condition of his fellow workmen. At the age of twenty-three his employers showed their appreciation of his integrity and ability by appointing him outdoor manager.

In 1859 he had so far achieved success that he, with other gentlemen, started the Beaufort Tinplate Works at Morriston, and from that date until comparatively recently he has been actively engaged in the tinplate industry.

In 1865 he was elected to the Swansea Town Council, and in 1869 was elected Mayor.

Lord Glantawe has been thrice Mayor of Swansea, in 1869, 1879, and 1880, and on the last occasion received the honour of knighthood at the hands of the present King, then Prince of Wales, who, with the Princess of Wales, honoured Swansea with a visit on the occasion of the opening of the Prince of Wales Dock.

In 1880 Lord Glantawe entered Parliament as the representative of the Carmarthen Boroughs, retaining his seat until 1886, when, as a Liberal Unionist, he was defeated by Sir Arthur Stepney. He regained the seat in 1895, but lost it at the General Election of 1900.

His Lordship is a County and Borough Magistrate, D.L. for Glamorganshire, and was High Sheriff in 1889. He has for a number of years been a Harbour Trustee and was Chairman of the Harbour Trust from 1891 to 1898. Was one of the promoters, and afterwards chairman of the Rhondda and Swansea Bay Railway, is a Director of the Metropolitan Bank of England and Wales, and it was through his enterprise that the new pier was built at Mumbles. He took an active part in the formation of a local corps of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, was a member of the governing body of the Intermediate and Technical Schools of the borough, President of the Royal Institution of South Wales 1889-90, and has actively identified himself with all movements promoted for the interests of the locality.

In 1895 he was made the recipient of the freedom of the borough in recognition of his 30 years' services to the town and district.

In June, 1906, his elevation to the peerage came as a fitting reward to a long career of honourable service for the Principality.

Not only has Lord Glantawe gained distinction for himself in the field of industry and in the service of his town, but he has throughout his life devoted considerable attention to the cause of education and religious equality, and for these services he stands high in the esteem of the people.

Photo. by] [*I. Lang, Card*

SIR ALFRED THOMAS, KT., M.P.

SIR ALFRED THOMAS, M.P,

SIR ALFRED THOMAS is the son of the late D. Thomas, Penylan, Cardiff and was born in 1840. He is an enthusiastic educationalist, and has devoted considerable attention to the University College of South Wales, Cardiff, of which he is an ex-president. Was Mayor of Cardiff, in 1882, the freedom of the city being conferred upon him in 1888. Was President of the Baptist Union of Wales; is chairman of what is generally known as the "Welsh Parliamentary Party," and has represented East Glamorgan in the Liberal interest since 1885.

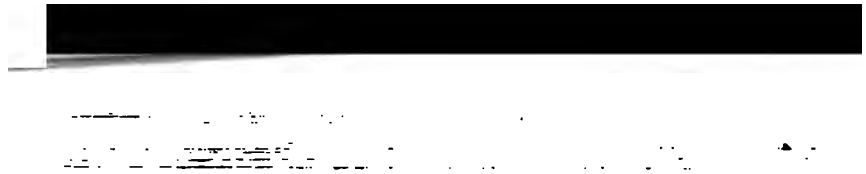
From a Portrait] [*Supplied by Tw*

Sir John Williams Bart. M.D.L.

PLÁS LLANSTEPHAN CARMARTHEN.

SIR JOHN WILLIAMS, K.C.V.O., LL.D.

BORN November 6, 1840, in Carmarthenshire; son of the Rev. David Williams of Blaenllynant; married Mary, daughter of Richard Hughes, Ynistawe, in 1872. Educated at Normal College, Swansea, of which Dr. Evan Davies was the Principal, and at University College, London, of which he is a Fellow; K.C.V.O.; M.D.; F.R.C.P.; (Hon.) LL.D., Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; D.Sc. (Hon.), Wales; was High Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1904. An ardent educationalist, and essentially a cultured man whose horizon has been widened by practical contact with men of affairs. He has taken keen and special interest in the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. In politics he is a Liberal, and occupies a growing place in Welsh National affairs.



DR. GOMER LEWIS,
Swansea.

DR. GOMER LEWIS, SWANSEA.

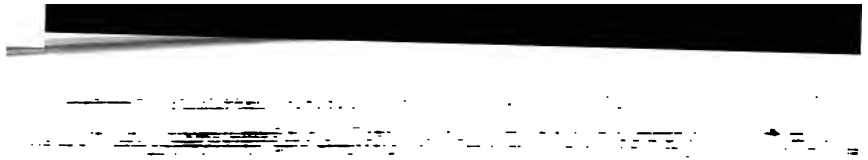
BORN June, 1844, at Trefach, Carmarthenshire; son of John Lewis, Woollen Manufacturer; commenced to preach in 1862, and shortly afterwards entered the Grammar School at Newcastle Emlyn; in 1864, he was admitted as a student to the Baptist College, Haverfordwest, then under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas Davies, D.D. Before his term expired, he had been invited to become pastor of five different churches, but decided to go to Salem, Maesteg, where he was ordained in May, 1867. During his ministry a new structure was built at a cost of £3,000, with seating capacity for 1,150 persons, and he himself was instrumental in collecting £4,500 towards various objects. On March 1st, 1878, he settled at Belle Vue, Swansea, commencing with a membership of 44, which is now 400, and a new edifice, called "Capel Gomer," has been erected with sitting accommodation for 1,000 people, at a cost of £4,200. During the opening services over £2,800 was raised; the organ, value £400, was presented by Mr. Ben Evans, who had previously contributed £100 towards the building fund. He was chairman of the Glamorganshire Association in 1880, and chairman of the Welsh Baptist Union in 1898; was chairman of the Board of Guardians ten years, being the successor of Sir John T. Dillwyn Llewellyn, Bart., member twenty years; the first Welshman to be elected on the Executive of the National Poor Law Association. His chief lectures are—"Abraham Lincoln," which has been delivered about two hundred times; "Our Nation and our Religion," about eighty times; "The Glory of Variety," three hundred and fifty times; and "The

World's Fair," the most popular of all, and which has been repeated 499 times. He is a member of the Board of the University Court of Wales. Visited the United States in 1893.

AN ANALYSIS.

Strictly speaking, Dr. Gomer Lewis cannot be classed as a leader either in education or in politics, but the editor, having decided to include in the volume a few county men who have sought to promote the interests of the people, finds himself unable to exclude Dr. Lewis. The editor accepts responsibility not only for the subjects selected, but also for the various sketches which are his, but which bear no name. He has exercised what judicial impartiality he possesses. He includes Dr. Lewis on the ground that he is better known as a lecturer, if not as a preacher, than any other sectarian minister in Wales, and on the ground that throughout his life he has been a keen and loyal Eisteddfodwr, and has created a characteristic constituency of admirers which is certainly unique. To attempt to diagnose his personality and prominence, is to enter difficult and even argumentative ground. To some natures he never has appealed, and never would. Macaulay said of Wordsworth that he could find nothing in him but "an endless wilderness of twaddle," and Swinburne could discern little in him save "pompous dullness;" yet Scott honoured him, Coleridge loved him, and Southey praised him in the famous words that there never was and never will be a greater poet. Southey exaggerated, but he was nearer the truth than even Macaulay or Swinburne. Dr. Gomer Lewis is not technically educated, his sermons and lectures evince no acquaintance with the trend of scientific research, he has no passion for classic literature, or the productions of

our great English prose and poetic writers, the academic quality is entirely wanting; yet he has loomed largely in the life of the people, and has exercised a mystic influence over the imagination of the Welsh both here and in America. He has occupied positions in civic life which have been denied to men of real distinction. What is the explanation? Burns was an imperfectly educated rustic, but he possessed the poetic genius in its absolute fullness. There are certain profitable gifts that are independent of culture, of knowledge, and even of character. Evidently there is a fit environment for such a personality as Dr. Lewis in Welsh life. What is that environment? It is the romantic environment, having for its background a broad humanitarianism which atones for many limitations. This is the spark that has kindled the flame and kept it burning, and he knows how to oil, cleanse, trim, and use his lamp. It is the gift that the gods bestow upon some, and it is the gift that makes Dr. Lewis the breezy personality that he is, and that gives him his sway over those whom he allures. Such characters are rare, and their rarity adds to their power; they are a relief from the suffocating atmosphere of the orthodox and conventional crowds, that have neither the genius nor the courage to leave the beaten track; their sameness and imitations rob them, not only of interest, but of the twin-elements of spontaneity and intensity; they can neither amuse, nor entertain, and they regard with contempt and derision those who dare to stand on their own feet, see with their own eyes, and speak with their own tongue. Nature has more than one pattern, and this dreary and sombre life is all the better for it.



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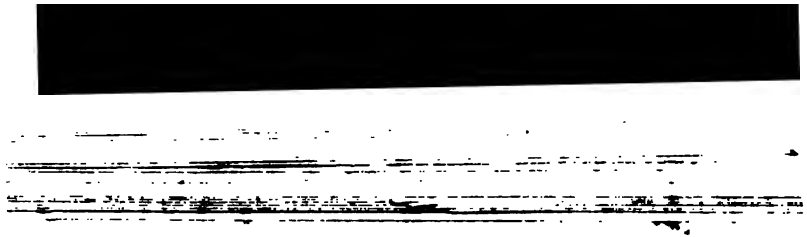
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